

# Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXXI

*By*

J. den Boeft  
J.W. Drijvers  
D. den Hengst  
H.C. Teitler



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## PREFACE

This is the last book of Ammianus' *Res Gestae*. It is almost completely dedicated to the troubles the Goths created in Thrace after they had been allowed to cross the Danube and to enter Roman territory. The climax of the Roman-Gothic confrontations was the disastrous battle of Adrianople in which the Roman army was heavily defeated and the emperor Valens was killed. In addition, the book offers the first extant description of the Hunnic people, and an account of Gratian's troubles with the Alamannic Lentienses at the Rhine frontier.

The commentary on Book 31 is the last volume in the series of *Philological and Historical Commentaries on Ammianus Marcellinus*, which originally started in 1935 with the PhD thesis by P. de Jonge at the University of Groningen on the first seven chapters of Book 14. De Jonge continued his work on the *Res Gestae* after World War II and was able to publish commentaries up to and including Book 19, which was published in 1982. His work was initially continued by a triumvirate consisting of Jan den Boeft, Daan den Hengst and Hans Teitler (Books 20–21). In 1991 the triumvirate became a *quadriga* when Jan Willem Drijvers joined the team. The four of us published the commentaries on Books 22–31.

Our commentaries have benefited greatly from the support and advice of friends and colleagues over the years. We owe thanks to Raphael Brendel for his bibliographical suggestions and to Erwin Bolhuis of the Groningen Institute of Archaeology for making the maps in this volume. A special word of thanks is due to Ines van de Wetering for her correction of our English in previous volumes as well as in the present one. The Fondation Hardt at Vandoeuvres also deserves our thanks; considerable parts of the commentaries were prepared and written in its inspiring environment. We are grateful to our publisher Koninklijke Brill who prepared the publication of this and previous volumes with professional care and dedication.

With the publication of this last volume a long-standing project is completed. There is a deep feeling of gratitude, not only because we were able to finish the project, but also because we could do so as a foursome. At the

same time there is a sense of melancholy: a fruitful and harmonious collaboration, which comprised a large part of our scholarly and personal lives for more than thirty years, has come to an end.

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J. den Boeft  
J.W. Drijvers  
D. den Hengst  
H.C. Teitler



J.W. Drijvers

H.C. Teitler

D. den Hengst

J. den Boeft

## INTRODUCTION

While the central event in Book 30 was the sudden demise of Valentinian I, emperor of the West, in Book 31, the last book of the *Res Gestae*, his brother Valens, emperor of the East, is the main character. Therefore Ammianus no longer reports events in the West and the East alternately, as he had done in Books 26–30, but focuses almost exclusively on events in the eastern part of the empire. The junior members of the Valentinian dynasty, Gratian and Valentinian II, are given only a perfunctory treatment.

The narrative of Valens' death during the battle of Adrianople creates a highly dramatic conclusion to the *Res Gestae*. The groundwork for this impressive finale is laid in the opening chapter of Book 31. Ammianus presents the reader with a list of portents, which go beyond the traditional *omina mortis* in that they hint unequivocally at Valens' death by fire. Indeed, Ammianus had already prepared his readers for the inglorious end of the emperor in 29.1.33. There an oracle foretold, that Valens would be punished for his judicial misconduct: *ipsi...principi caedes incendiaque flatantes furias imminere*, "the Furies, breathing fire and slaughter were in wait...for the emperor himself" (tr. Hamilton), a threat which is emphatically repeated in 29.2.20. As Samberger, 1969, 429 stated: "Die Erzählung des 29. Buches lässt die Darstellung des angedeuteten Geschehens unbedingt erwarten und, umgekehrt, die letzte Nachricht über den Kaiser setzt die frühere notwendig voraus."

This is a decisive argument against the proposition of Kulikowski, that "Book 31 was in origin a separate monograph, drafted in Greek at Antioch in the aftermath of the Roman defeat at Adrianople" (2012, 79). Equally unattractive is his idea, that the last Book of the *Res Gestae* is a Latin translation of a Greek original, since there is not a single trace of a Greek subtext in Book 31, while the allusions to and borrowings from the Latin authors Sallust, Cicero, Gellius and Vergil are just as prolific as in the preceding books.

Chapter one contains not only *omina* predicting the death of Valens, but also an oracle in Greek which prophesies that countless hordes of barbarians will cross the Danube into Roman territory. The oracle, obviously a *vaticinium ex eventu*, is deliberately vague, but seems to have been written with the after-effects of the battle of Adrianople in mind.

Before turning to the actual invasion of the Goths, Ammianus explains why this nation was forced to leave its territory north of the Danube. They were expelled by the Huns, who had defeated the Alans and later joined forces with them. Ammianus devotes a lengthy digression to these nations in chapters two and three. The ethnographic sketches are very similar; both nations are described as typical nomads, whose way of life differs in every respect from Graeco-Roman civilization. Ammianus possessed little factual information about the Alans—even less about the Huns—and therefore made use of traditional notions about primitive barbarians, many of them ultimately going back to the Scythian logos in Herodotus Book 4.

Moving westwards the joined forces of the Huns and Alans first encountered the Gothic confederation of the Greuthungi, who, after a series of defeats, withdrew to the river Danastrus (Dniestr). Next, the Huns and Alans attacked the Gothic Thervingi under king Athanaric, who tried in vain to stop their advance. Utterly discouraged and threatened by famine a large part of the Thervingi turned away from Athanaric. Led by Alavivus and Fritigern, they decided to ask the Roman emperor for permission to cross the Danube in order to take refuge from the Huns in the fertile region of Thrace. In return they offered guarantees of peace, and promised to do military service if required to do so.

As soon as Ammianus begins to describe the actual contacts between Goths and Romans, in chapter four, his tone becomes less detached. At first, he tells us, the Romans tended to ignore the turmoil created by the Huns. Later, upon hearing that countless numbers of Goths were appealing to the emperor for admittance within the borders of the empire, flattering courtiers went so far as to congratulate Valens on his good luck. The influx of young Gothic soldiers would not only render his army invincible, but also enable him to reduce the costs of the army. The emperor consequently granted the Goths permission to enter the empire. With undisguised sarcasm Ammianus relates how the Roman border troops and the Danube fleet did everything in their power to leave ‘not one of those destined to overthrow the Roman State’ (*ne qui Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur*, 31.4.5) beyond the river. He emphasizes the huge numbers of the invaders in his usual manner, with a quotation from Vergil and a reference to ancient history, viz. the Persian expedition of Xerxes against Greece. Ammianus does not explicitly state under what conditions the Goths were allowed to enter Roman territory. He does say that Valens promised them ‘food in accordance with the situation and lands to cultivate’ (*alimenta pro tempore et subigendos agros*, 31.4.8).

Ammianus is also sharply critical of the Roman commanders in Thrace,

Lupicinus and Maximus. Driven by the typically Roman vice of greed (*aviditas materia malorum omnium*, 31.4.10) they made the Goths pay extortionate prices for their food. In the meantime the Greuthungi also asked for permission to cross the Danube, but their request was rejected, and rightly so according to our author. However, while the army and the river fleet were preoccupied with supervising the Thervingi, the Greuthungi took advantage of the occasion and crossed the river without waiting for permission.

In this rapidly deteriorating situation Lupicinus invited the Thervingian leaders Fritigern and Alavivus to a banquet in Marcianopolis (chapter five). While they were dining there, a riot broke out at the city gates, because their kinsmen, who wanted to buy food, were forbidden to enter the city. When the conflict spiralled out of control, Lupicinus gave orders that the Gothic guards of Fritigern and Alavivus should be killed. Thereupon Fritigern stormed out of the city and joined his people. From that moment onwards the Goths no longer considered themselves bound to obey the Roman authorities. They roamed at will through the Thracian diocese ravaging the countryside and murdering the inhabitants. In an ill-considered reaction Lupicinus joined battle with them and suffered a humiliating defeat.

At this point the author repeats a statement he had made earlier, in the programmatic opening of Book 26. People should not expect from him a minutely detailed account of events, nor the exact numbers of the fallen. His task as a historian is to stick to the truth and to restrict himself to the really important issues (*ipsas rerum...summitates*, 31.5.10). Furthermore, he criticizes those people who are stunned by the military successes of the Goths. Ignorant of their history, they fail to realize that in its past Rome had confronted similar catastrophes. Ammianus reminds his readers of the invasions of the Cimbri and the Teutones in Republican times, the long and difficult wars Marcus Aurelius had to fight against the Marcomanni, and above all the deep incursions of Gothic marauders, which had taken place roughly a hundred years earlier, during which another Roman emperor, Decius, had lost his life. The empire had emerged victorious from all these tribulations, and therefore Ammianus' faith in Rome *victura, dum erunt homines* (14.6.3) remains unshaken. There can be no doubt that this dissertation was prompted not just by Lupicinus' defeat, but by the whole course of the Gothic invasion up to and including the battle of Adrianople, about which Ammianus as a military man and a historian, felt entitled to give his opinion.

In chapter six Ammianus describes a new setback. It came when the Gothic chieftains Sueridus and Colias, who were in the service of the Romans, changed sides together with their followers, and threw in their lot



with their kinsmen under the command of Fritigern. Ammianus clearly indicates that they had at first remained neutral, but had then been provoked by the insults of the inhabitants of Adrianople, where they had their winter quarters. In the ensuing battle the Goths defeated their new enemies and even besieged the city, but ignorant about siege craft they suffered heavy losses, until Fritigern told them to stop these quixotic efforts. From then on they roamed through Thrace again, plundering and killing indiscriminately. Ammianus does not hesitate to blame the Romans for provoking the Goths to violence, but at the same time he is under no illusion regarding the ferocity and cruelty of the barbarians, whom he compares to wild beasts several times.

The gravity of the crisis in Thrace forced Valens to switch his attention from Persia to the Gothic invaders. Before leaving Antioch to go to the theatre of war himself, he ordered the general Victor to strike a temporary deal with Persia, and sent the generals Profuturus and Traianus ahead to Thrace. According to Ammianus the best strategy in dealing with the numerically superior barbarians would have been for these generals to avoid regular battles, and to attack the Gothic bands one by one. Instead of applying such guerilla tactics the generals decided to contain the barbarians within the Haemus mountains and to starve them out there. In the meantime they waited for reinforcements sent by Gratian under the generals Frigeridus and Richomeres. The combined forces from East and West were placed under the command of Richomeres and pitched camp near the town of Salices, where the Goths had established their wagon camp. All the Gothic bands, which had been roaming through the countryside, were concentrated within the laager. In these cramped conditions the barbarians were spoiling for a fight. In chapter seven Ammianus describes the ensuing battle near Salices in graphic detail, contrasting the steadfast discipline of the Roman legions, who were vastly outnumbered, with the unfettered fury of the barbarians. After a day of destructive fighting the battle ended in stalemate.

While the Goths stayed within their laager the Romans fortified the barricades of the mountain passes. The shortage of provisions drove the barbarians to frenzied attempts to break out of their confinement. As a last resort they persuaded their former enemies, the Huns and the Alans, to make common cause with them, promising them enormous booty in return. The general Saturninus, who had been sent by Valens with fresh troops, then decided to lift the barricade, because he feared that he would be swept away by the overwhelming numbers of the combined barbarian forces. Surprisingly, Ammianus finds this decision reasonable (*consilio non*

*absurdo*, 31.8.5), although the consequences were devastating. The author devotes half of chapter eight to a poignant account of the sufferings inflicted by the barbarians.

In chapter nine Ammianus finally reports a minor success for the Roman troops. The Goths tried to dislodge the general Frigeridus from his strategic position near Beroea. Frigeridus wisely avoided a confrontation by withdrawing his forces. En route he encountered a band of Greuthungi and Taifali. In a surprise attack he killed a large number of barbarians including their commander Farnobius. Frigeridus spared the lives of the survivors and settled them in the region of Emilia in northern Italy.

The events in Thrace had repercussions in the West of the empire, to which the tenth chapter is devoted. When the Lentienses, an Alamannic tribe living in southern Germany, heard that Gratian was preparing to go to Thrace in order to support his uncle against the Goths, they seized the opportunity to cross the Rhine and invade Roman territory. Their advance was checked by the auxiliary army units of the Petulantes and the Celtae, who drove them back across the Rhine, but later, when it was reported that a large part of the Roman army had left for Illyricum and that Gratian would soon join them, the Lentienses raised a considerable army and invaded again. Gratian then ordered his generals Nannienus and Mallobaudes to attack. In the battle of Argentaria, in the region of Alsace, they defeated the Lentienses and almost annihilated their army. This prompted Gratian, who was already on his way to the East, to cross the Rhine and to invade the territory of the Lentienses. During a series of fights, in which Gratian displayed remarkable bravery, he forced the Lentienses into submission. This military success inspires Ammianus to write a eulogy of the young emperor, who as an adolescent showed great promise, and might have become an exemplary ruler, had he not taken after his predecessor Commodus regarding his excessive passion for hunting wild animals. Still, Ammianus presents us with a striking contrast between the successes of the gifted youth Gratian and his unfortunate uncle Valens.

In chapter eleven Valens enters the stage. He had been delayed by problems in the East, known only from other sources, because Ammianus concentrates exclusively on the war with the Goths. From Constantinople the emperor advanced to the *statio* Nice not far from Adrianople. Valens replaced Traianus with Sebastianus as *magister peditum* and ordered him to attack bands of Goths laden with booty who were wandering about in the vicinity. Sebastianus succeeded in killing many barbarians and retrieving their spoils. Seeing this, Fritigern ordered his kinsmen to assemble near the town of Cabyle, where they would be immune from surprise attacks and

well supplied with food. In the meantime Gratian had travelled along the Danube to Castra Martis, some 550 km from Adrianople. He informed Valens of his approach and asked him not to engage the Gothic army before he had arrived.

During his stay in the *statio* Nice Valens was informed that Fritigern, with no more than ten thousand men, was on his way to Nice (chapter twelve). According to Ammianus this information could not be trusted. Valens was eager to join battle and convened a staff meeting, in which opinions were divided. One general, Victor, insisted that Valens should wait until Gratian had arrived with the troops from the West, whereas Sebastianus urged Valens to attack immediately. Sebastianus was supported by flattering courtiers who knew that the emperor was jealous of his nephew and desperately wanted to gain victory unaided. Valens decided to attack the next day. Ammianus unequivocally condemns this decision and speaks of the emperor's 'fatal obstinacy' (*funesta principis destinatio*, 31.12.7).

Before the decisive battle began, Fritigern tried three times to negotiate with Valens. Ammianus leaves it to the reader to decide whether the Gothic chieftain was playing for time, because he was waiting for the cavalry under Alatheus and Safrax to arrive, or whether he dreaded a potential disaster (*Martem pertimescens ancipitem*, 31.12.14). Twice Valens refused to negotiate. A third attempt failed at the last moment. While the general Richomerus was on his way to Fritigern, an unauthorized attack by the Sagittarii and the Scutarii put the spark to the tinder, and the fighting started. For the actual development of the battle see the commentary on chapter thirteen. Ammianus points out that right from the beginning the Roman soldiers were at a disadvantage, because they were hungry and tired after their long march in the heat of the day. For this the emperor and his generals were to blame. The soldiers, on the other hand, fought bravely, but were trampled underfoot by the Gothic cavalry.

By nightfall, when it was clear that the situation was desperate, the emperor Valens himself lost his life. Ammianus reports two versions of his death. It was thought, but could not be confirmed, that he was hit by an arrow and died soon after on the battlefield. The other account was that the emperor, with some of his guards, had fled to a farmhouse, to which the Goths set fire, not knowing that the emperor was hiding inside. Ammianus presents this version in much greater detail, which suggests that he believed that this is what happened. Moreover, it tallies with the oracle mentioned in Book 29 and the *omina mortis* in the first chapter of Book 31.

Chapter 14 contains the necrology of Valens. As in the other necrologies in the *Res Gestae*, Ammianus tries to do justice both to the emperor's mer-

its (*bona*) and to his flaws (*mala*). Against the background of the highly unfavourable narrative of Valens' reign, the enumeration of his *bona* comes as a surprise. The section on his *mala*, on the other hand, confirms the image of an incompetent, unjust and uncivilized ruler, as created by the author when describing his reign. At the end of the chapter Ammianus returns to the prophecy of Valens' death 'in the fields of Mimas' which the emperor had failed to interpret correctly.

If the author had ended his *Res Gestae* at this point, the reader would have been left with a feeling of doom and gloom, but Ammianus decided otherwise. He continues his narrative with two chapters that describe terrible events, and are totally devoid of shallow optimism, yet offer a glimmer of hope by showing that the Goths were unable to capture fortified cities, that they were not invincible in battle, and that decisive and harsh measures could help to diminish the Gothic threat within the borders of the empire. Chapter fifteen relates how the Goths after their victory laid siege to the city of Adrianople in the hope of seizing the imperial treasure that had been stored there. Made even more reckless by their success in battle they stormed the city walls and demanded the surrender of the city, a request which was scornfully rejected. When their frenzied attacks failed, the Goths tried to capture the city by means of a stratagem, but this time it was Lady Justice herself who intervened to thwart their evil intent. Ammianus stresses the exemplary cooperation of the courtiers, the soldiers and the citizens against which the barbarians were powerless. The attackers were also intimidated by the technical superiority of the defenders. At the end of the second day the barbarians abandoned all hope of success and lifted the siege. After their withdrawal the citizens of Adrianople managed to take the imperial treasure to a safe place.

The Goths, together with their allies, the Huns and the Alans, again went on the rampage near Perinthus, nearer to the fabled riches of Constantinople. They were determined to do everything in their power to destroy this famous city, and were practically knocking on its gates when the heavenly godhead warded off their attack (*caeleste reppulit numen*, 31.16.4). The godhead made use of a Saracen army unit, which sallied forth from the city and joined battle with the Goths. The unheard-of ferocity of one Saracen fighter, who slit the throat of his opponent and sucked the blood from the wound, terrified the Goths, who from then on lost much of their audacity. Moreover, the impressive walls and the sheer size and beauty of Constantinople made them realize the futility of any attempt to capture this city. Thereafter the barbarians dispersed and roamed in a disorderly fashion through the northern provinces as far as the Julian Alps.

The last event mentioned by Ammianus is the action taken by Iulius, *magister equitum et peditum per Orientem*. He ordered the garrison commanders in his province, all of them Romans, to convene their Gothic soldiers on one and the same day, allegedly to pay them their *stipendium*, but in fact they were killed to a man. In the eyes of Ammianus this was a praiseworthy, indeed exemplary action.

Ammianus closes his *Res Gestae* with an epilogue, which contains elements often found in the prefaces of historical works, and most likely repeated from the lost preface to his own work. He presents himself with pride as a former army officer and a man of Greek culture (*ut miles quondam et Graecus*), entitled to pass judgment on military matters, and to draw lessons from history on which he is an expert. The fact that he began his work with the reign of Nerva shows, that he sees himself as the continuator of Tacitus. Ammianus pays tribute to the *prima lex historiae* as formulated by Cicero by saying that he has never knowingly violated the truth either by lies or by omissions. Finally, he invites younger and competent future historians to write a sequel to the *Res Gestae* in the grand style required for contemporary history.

This is an impressive conclusion to a work that represents a late and sudden blossoming of Roman historiography. Ammianus' *Res Gestae* is the most detailed historical work in Latin after Tacitus' *Historiae*. The books that have come down to us bring to life the third quarter of the fourth century, a period that witnessed Julian's vain attempt to stem the rising tide of Christianity and the increasing pressure from outside forces on the northern and eastern borders of the empire. Ammianus may be compared to a painter, who is intensely involved in the events he depicts and makes no secret of his personal feelings about the characters in his painting. His *Res Gestae* is, besides its exceptional value as a historical source, also a literary work of art in its own right, written in a prose which is far removed from the balanced and fluid style Cicero demanded from the historian. His style is exuberant and rises at times to real grandeur. It has been our aim as commentators to provide the reader with the necessary background to form an opinion about Ammianus' version of the historical events of his time, to understand his often difficult language, and to appreciate his literary achievement.

## CHRONOLOGY

Book 31 of the *Res Gestae* covers a rather short period, from 376 to the late summer or early autumn of 378. Chronological overviews of the events, which mainly took place in the eastern part of the empire, are given by Reiche, 1889, 58–62 and Seeck (1906, 526–527; 1919, 248–251). Wanke, 1990, 111–219 pays full attention to the chronology of the affairs in Thrace. For the whereabouts of the emperor Valens in 376–378 see Barnes 253–254 and Lenski, 2007, 119–122.

In Book 31 we find several temporal expressions, such as *inter haec, tandem, per id tempus, paulo ante, his diebus* etcetera, which unfortunately do not help much towards the construction of the exact order of events. Others are a little more helpful (*autumno vergente in hiemem, secuta luce, vergente in meridiem die*), and there are some passages which furnish precise chronological data (31.8.2, 31.10.4, 31.12.10; cf. 31.14.1). Based on this information, and with the help of the *Theodosian Code* and other sources, a rough chronological reconstruction can be made. Many details, however, are uncertain and/or conjectural.

### *Valens and the affairs in Thrace*

Valens resided from 371 onwards in Syria (see ad 29.1.4, pp. 8–9), where he received an embassy of Thervingian Goths who asked to be admitted into the Roman Empire (31.4.1). This was in 376, as can be inferred from *Consul. Constant. a. 376 Valente Aug. V et Valentiniano iunior Aug. His conss. victi et expulsi sunt Gothi a gente Unorum et suscepti sunt in Romania pro misericordia iussione Aug. Valentis* (cf. *Oros. hist.* 7.33.9 and 7.33.13). The Goths, having obtained the emperor's permission, crossed the Danube (31.4.5–8), presumably in the spring or the summer of 376 (31.4.5, p. 68). Soon relations between Goths and Romans deteriorated (31.4.9–11). When some time later Greuthungian Goths also asked to be admitted, the emperor refused (31.4.12). However, they came nevertheless. They entered the empire possibly still in 376 or in the spring of 377 (31.5.3, p. 84). According to *Consul. Constant. a. 377* it was in 377 that the Goths started a rebellion: *His conss. (i.e. Gratiano III et Merobaude) gens Gothorum, qui pro misericordia suscepti sunt, rebellaverunt adversus Romanos*. In that year the first armed colli-

sion took place near Marcianopolis (the present Devnja); subsequently the Goths roamed around in Thrace (31.5.4–9). Gothic auxiliaries in the Roman army rebelled and killed a large number of the inhabitants of Adrianople (31.6).

When the news of these events reached Valens (31.7.1, p. 120), he was probably in Antioch (in the summer of 377 he also stayed for a while in Hierapolis, *Cod. Theod.* 10.16.3 of 6 July 377 and *Cod. Theod.* 7.6.3 of 9 August 377; cf. *Cod. Theod.* 6.2.12). But instead of immediately going to Thrace in person, he sent, in 377, Profuturus and Traianus. These generals, together with troops sent by the western emperor Gratian (first under Frigeridus, then Richomeres), fought an inconclusive battle against the Goths near the town of Salices (31.7.2–16). After this battle Richomeres returned to Gaul to procure reinforcements, while the Goths were barricaded within the Haemus mountains (31.8.1–2). The summer of 377 was now coming to its end: *haec Gratiano quater et Merobaude consulibus agebantur anno in autumnum vergente* (31.8.2, p. 144). Meanwhile general Saturninus had arrived in Thrace (31.8.3), while the Goths sought the alliance of Hunnish and Alan troops (31.8.3–4). Saturninus then raised the barricade across the Haemus passes (31.8.5), with disastrous results. The barbarians started to roam through Thrace, wreaking havoc everywhere and killing the tribune Barzimeres near the city of Dibaltum, modern Debelt (31.8.6–10). However, their attempt to engage with Frigeridus near Beroea (Stara Zagora) failed (31.9.1–2). The Roman general even succeeded in defeating bands of enemies under Farnobius (31.9.3–4). So much for 377.

In the spring of the following year Valens finally (*tandem*) left Antioch (31.11.1, p. 182). He made his entry into Constantinople on 30 May 378 (*Consul. Constant. a. 378 ingressus est Valens Aug. ab oriente Constantinopolim die III kal. Iun.*; Socr. *HE* 4.38.1)—presumably not much later Valens' nephew Gratian left Trier and started his journey to Thrace to help his uncle (see below). Valens left the city soon, on 11 June (Socr. *HE* 4.38.5 ὑπεκβαίνει περὶ τὴν ἐνδεκάτην τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνός; *Consul. Constant. a. 378 profectus est Valens ex urbe ad fossatum die III id. Iun.*). From Constantinople he first went to the nearby *villa* Melantias (31.11.1, p. 185) and from there to the *statio* Nice, located some 26 km south east of Adrianople, modern Edirne (31.11.2, pp. 185–186; cf. 31.12.1, p. 197). Meanwhile, the new Roman commander Sebastianus achieved some successes against predatory bands of Goths (31.11.1–4). The Gothic leader Fritigern then rallied the scattered barbarians near the city of Cabyle (31.11.5), and from there marched into the direction of Nice early in August (31.12.3). Valens now decided to attack. He pitched camp close to Adrianople, where Richomeres presented him with a letter of

Gratian in which the western emperor announced that he would come soon (31.12.3–4). But Valens did not wait.

The ensuing battle took place not far from Adrianople on 9 August 378 (*quintum Iduum Augustarum*, 31.12.10; *Consul. Constant. a. 378 pugna magna fuit cum Romanis et Gothis miliario xii ab Hadrianopoli die v id. Aug.*; Socr. *HE* 4.38.7). The emperor himself died (31.13.12–15), *quinquagesimo anno contiguus, cum per annos quattuor imperasset et decem, parvo minus* (“at the age of almost fifty after a reign of a little less than fourteen years”, 31.14.1, tr. Hamilton; cf. Socr. *HE* 4.38.11 and Soz. *HE* 6.40.5). After the battle the victorious Goths unsuccessfully besieged Adrianople for two days, 10–11 August (31.15.2–15). From there they went to Perinthus, joined by Huns and Alans, and laid waste to the fields around that city (31.16.1–3). Near Constantinople their encounter with Saracen auxiliaries ended in a setback (31.16.4–6), but thereupon—it was now the late summer or the early autumn of 378—they went on the rampage in the northern provinces as far as the Julian Alps (31.16.7). Ammianus ends his narrative of what happened in 378 with a section about Gothic soldiers massacred by the general Iulius in the eastern provinces (31.16.8; see pp. 290–292 for discussion about the date).

### *The movements of Gratian in 378*

The battle of Adrianople was fought without Gratian. He had been summoned by his uncle to come to the East (31.10.3), but when on 9 August Valens decided to begin the battle Gratian had only got as far as *Castra Martis* (31.11.6), on the site of modern Kula in Bulgaria, some 550 km away from Adrianople.

Gratian must have started his eastward journey in the beginning of June, for *Cod. Theod.* 1.15.9 attests that he was still in his residence in Trier on 1 June 378 (for discussion about this date, which is at variance with the communis opinio, see pp. 165–166). In February of 378 (*Februario mense*, 31.10.4) Alamannic Lentienses had entered the empire by crossing the frozen Rhine (31.10.4). The barbarians were forced to retire (*ibid.*), but later in 378 (probably at the end of May or the beginning of June) many of them invaded again (31.10.5), whereupon Gratian ordered Nannienus and Mallobaudes to stop them (31.10.6–7). These commanders defeated the Lentienses in the battle at Argentaria (31.10.8–10), but Gratian, who was already on his way to the East (*iam...ad partes tendens eoas*), interrupted his journey and crossed the Rhine (somewhere between Basel and Lake Constance; see pp. 168–169) to fight against the barbarians himself (31.10.11–17). We con-



ture that Gratian's expedition against the Lentienses covered the second half of June.

After this interlude Gratian continued his journey with long marches (*porrectis itineribus*) past Arbor Felix (Arbon) and Lauriacum (31.10.20). He may have arrived in Lauriacum (Lorch-Enns), which was a naval station (pp. 176–177), by mid-July (p. 177). From 31.11.6 (*permeato Danubio*) it is clear that at a certain point during his journey Gratian himself and his lightly armed troops traveled down the Danube by ship, while his baggage was sent by land. Since Ammianus explicitly mentions Lauriacum in 31.10.20, it seems probable that Gratian embarked here. He sailed down the Danube and arrived, presumably at the end of July, via Bononia (Banostor in Serbia) in Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica). He stayed in Sirmium for four days and then went *per idem flumen* to Castra Martis (31.11.6)—since Castra Martis is not on the Danube, Gratian and his troops probably disembarked at another Bononia (Vidin in Bulgaria) and marched from there to Castra Martis, about 30 km inland. He may have arrived there on 2 or 3 August (for calculations see pp. 192–193).

376

(Thervingian) Goths cross the Danube with permission of Valens, who stays in Syria; they are promised food and lands in Thrace, but become frustrated by the arrogant behaviour of the generals Lupicinus and Maximus

376 or 377

Without permission (Greuthungian) Goths cross the Danube

377

The Goths start a rebellion. Battle of Marcianopolis. Mutiny of Gothic auxiliaries in Adrianople. The Roman generals Profuturus and Traianus arrive in Thrace from Syria, Frigeridus and Richomeres from Gaul. Battle of Salices. Richomeres returns to Gaul

End of summer

Goths, barricaded within the Haemus mountains, seek alliance of Hunnish and Alan troops. The new Roman commander Saturninus raises the barricade across the Haemus passes. Goths roam through Thrace. Tribune Barzimeres killed near Dibaltum. Frigeridus defeats Goths under Farnobius

378

February	Alamannic Lentienses invade the Roman Empire, but are driven back
Spring	Valens leaves Antioch
30 May	Valens arrives at Constantinople
1 June	Gratian still in Trier
Beginning of June	Battle of Argentaria
Shortly after 1 June	Gratian starts his eastward journey. En route he hears about the victory at Argentaria
11 June	Valens leaves Constantinople and goes to Melantias and Nice
Second half of June	Gratian interrupts his journey for a campaign against the Lentienses
June/July	The Roman general Sebastianus achieves successes against bands of Goths in Thrace. Fritigern regroups Goths near Cabyle
Mid-July	Gratian arrives in Lauriacum
End of July	Gratian arrives in Sirmium
Early in August	Fritigern marches into the direction of Nice. Valens pitches camp close to Adrianople. Gratian arrives in Castra Martis
9 August	Battle of Adrianople in which Valens is killed
10–11 August	Goths besiege Adrianople
Mid-August	Goths before Perinthus and Constantinople
Late summer/ early autumn	Goths rampage in northern provinces. Massacre of Gothic auxiliaries in the eastern provinces.



## LEGENDA

1. The lemmata are taken from W. Seyfarth's Teubner-edition (Leipzig 1978), with one alteration: consonantial u is always printed as v (*venit* instead of *uenit*).

2. For references to Greek authors we follow the abbreviations and indications of books and chapters in H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* and for patristic literature those in G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. Passages in Latin authors are indicated according to the system of P.W.G. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. For later and Christian authors we follow the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

Some exceptions to these rules:

- In the case of Caesar, Sallust and Tacitus the division of the chapters into sections in the Teubner-editions has been taken into account.
- Seneca's *Dialogi* are referred to with the title of the individual works.
- For the *Panegyrici Latini* Mynors' OCT-edition has been used.
- Eunapius' *History* is quoted from Blockley's edition (*The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. II, Liverpool 1983).
- Ausonius is quoted from Green's edition (*The Works of Ausonius. Edited with Introduction and Commentary by R.P.H. Green*, Oxford 1991).

3. As to secondary literature the following rules are observed:

- References to the six volumes of De Jonge's commentaries (Books 14–19) and to our commentaries on Books 20–30 are usually given with 'see De Jonge ad... (p. 000)', 'see ad... (p. 000)'.
- Books or articles are normally referred to with the name of the author(s), the year of publication and the page(s). The full titles can be found in the bibliography; e.g. Hagendahl, 1921, 64 refers to H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammianea*, Uppsala 1921, page 64.
- Quotations from existing translations and secondary literature are given between inverted commas ("..."). Our own explanations of words or phrases in Greek and Latin texts are given between single inverted commas ('...').
- Occasionally reference is made to commentaries on other authors,

e.g. Austin's on Vergil and Koestermann's on Tacitus, or to well-known editions like those in the Budé-series. As a rule these works are not mentioned in the bibliography.

Of the following books, which are referred to regularly, only the name of the author and the page(s) are given:

- |                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| Angliviél de la<br>Beaumelle | L. Angliviél de la Beaumelle. <i>Notes</i> in: G. Sabbah, <i>Ammien Marcellin, Histoire VI (Livres XXIX–XXXI)</i> , Paris 1999.                            |
| Barnes                       | T.D. Barnes, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality</i> , Ithaca-London 1998.  |
| Bitter                       | N. Bitter, <i>Kampfschilderungen bei Ammianus Marcellinus</i> (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Klassische Philologie 23), Bonn 1976.                    |
| Blomgren                     | S. Blomgren, <i>De sermone Ammiani Marcellini quaestiones variae</i> , Diss. Uppsala 1937.   |
| Ehrismann                    | H. Ehrismann, <i>De temporum et modorum usu Ammiano</i> , Diss. Strasbourg 1886.   |
| Harmon                       | A.M. Harmon, <i>The Clausula in Ammianus Marcellinus</i> (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 16, 117–245), New Haven 1910.       |
| Jenkins                      | F.W. Jenkins, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus. An Annotated Bibliography 1474 to the Present</i> , Leiden-Boston 2017.   |
| Jones                        | A.H.M. Jones, <i>The Later Roman Empire 284–602. A Social Economic and Administrative Survey</i> , Oxford 1964 (repr. 1986).                               |
| Kelly                        | G. Kelly, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus. The Allusive Historian</i> , Cambridge 2008.  |
| Kühner-Stegmann              | R. Kühner & C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> , II, Satzlehre, 2 vols., Hannover 1955 <sup>4</sup> , 1976 <sup>5</sup> . |
| Matthews                     | J.F. Matthews, <i>The Roman Empire of Ammianus</i> , London 1989 (repr. Ann Arbor 2008).   |
| Paschoud                     | F. Paschoud, <i>Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle, II<sup>2</sup> (Livre IV)</i> , Paris 1979.   |
| Pinkster I                   | H. Pinkster, <i>Oxford Latin Syntax, vol. 1. The Simple Clause</i> , Oxford 2015.  |
| Sabbah                       | G. Sabbah, <i>La méthode d'Ammien Marcellin. Recherches sur la construction du discours historique dans les Res Gestae</i> , Paris 1978.                   |

Seager	R. Seager, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus. Seven Studies in his Language and Thought</i> , Columbia 1986.
Szantyr	J.B. Hofmann & A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> , Munich 1965 (repr. 1972).
Talbert	R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , Princeton 2000.
Wagner-Erfurdt	J.A. Wagner, <i>Ammiani Marcellini quae supersunt, cum notis integris Frid. Lindenbrogii, Henr. et Hadr. Valesiorum et Iac. Gronovii, quibus Thom. Reinesii quasdam et suas adiecit, editionem absoluit Car. Gottl. Aug. Erfurdt, 3 vols., Leipzig 1808 (repr. in 2 vols., Hildesheim 1975).</i>

The following translations are referred to with the name of the translator only:

Caltabiano	M. Caltabiano, <i>Ammiano Marcellino. Storie</i> , Milan 1998.
Hamilton	W. Hamilton and A. Wallace-Hadrill, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus: the Later Roman Empire (AD 354–378)</i> , Harmondsworth 1986.
Rolfe	J.C. Rolfe, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus</i> , with an English translation, 3 vols., London-Cambridge Mass. 1935–1939 (repr. 1971–1972).
Seyfarth	W. Seyfarth, <i>Ammianus Marcellinus, Römische Geschichte. Lateinisch und Deutsch und mit einem Kommentar versehen</i> , vol. IV, Berlin 1986 <sup>3</sup> .
Viansino	G. Viansino, <i>Ammiano Marcellino. Storie</i> , 3 vols., Milan 2001–2002.

4. In cases where this is helpful for the reader or relevant for the interpretation the cursus is indicated as follows:

- *revocávit in státum*: cursus planus
- *sublátius éminens*: cursus tardus
- *fécit et vectigáles*: cursus velox



## CHAPTER 1

### *Introduction*

At the start of Book 31 Ammianus warns the readers that what follows will be a tale of woes. These woes had not come about unexpectedly: there had been a number of daunting and blatant signs and portents. The author offers an extensive overview of these alarming omens. This is not surprising in view of Ammianus' positive opinion regarding the value of divination, amply dealt with in the first chapter of Book 21 and also apparent in a number of passages throughout the *Res Gestae*, in which inter alia various portents of the approaching death of an emperor are reported: Constantius (21.14.1–2, pp. 216–218), Julian (25.2.3–4, pp. 44–49), Jovian (25.10.11, pp. 331–332), Valentinian (30.5.15–18, pp. 134–137). The opening chapter of Book 31 also deals with signs heralding the death of an emperor, viz. Valens, but in this case they are combined with unmistakable portents of disasters awaiting the entire Roman Empire.

*Inter haec Fortunae volucris rota adversa prosperis semper alternans Bel-* 1.1  
*lonam Furiis in societatem ascitis armabat maestosque transtulit ad orientem*  
*eventus, quos adventare praesagiorum fides clara monebat et portentorum*  
The opening words link Book 31 closely to Book 30 chronologically. Note that the text is not quite certain, and that *inter haec* is a conjecture of Heraeus. This combination (or *haec inter*) at the beginning of a chapter or a section to mark a transition is quite common in Amm.; cf. 14.6.1, 14.11.17, 15.5.9, 16.10.18, 19.6.7, 19.11.1, 22.12.1, 23.2.1, 25.7.4, 26.1.6, 27.6.1, 27.9.8, 28.2.10. At the beginning of a book, as in the present case, it is unique, which according to Kulikowski, 2012, 84, “may plausibly argue against Book 31’s having been an integral part of the original composition”. However, cf. the not dissimilar beginning of Book 21 (*Dum haec in diversa parte terrarum fortunae struunt volubiles casus*), and see for Kulikowski’s view the general Introduction. Von Gutschmid, 1894, 572 thought that “ein Stück zwischen dem 30. und 31., vielleicht ein ganzes Buch” has been lost.

In extant Latin literature the first mention of the ‘wheel of Fortune’ occurs in Cicero’s invective against Piso (*Pis.* 22), where Cicero makes fun of someone’s love of dancing naked: *cum illum saltatorium versaret orbem, ne tum quidem fortunae rotam pertimescebat*. Obviously Cicero assumed that



his audience would understand the joke. Whether this joke is truly funny is another matter. In his *Dialogus de oratoribus* 23.1 Tacitus expresses his dislike of the entire passage (see Gudeman's note ad loc.). Concerning *Fortunae rota* see ad Amm. 26.8.13 (p. 234). For those readers who fail to grasp the function of the wheel Amm. adds a clarification: "it is perpetually alternating adversity and prosperity" (tr. Hamilton). The wheel as an attribute of Fortuna can be seen on statues, reliefs, medaillons, coins etc.; cf. *LIMC* VIII.1, p. 132 nos. 105a–b, *LIMC* VIII.2, p. 100, no. 105a; Lichocka, 1997, *passim*; for other attributes (the cornucopia and the rudder) see ad 25.4.14 (p. 139). TLL I 1752.76 correctly interprets *prosperis* as an abl. See for Fortuna ad 23.5.19 (p. 121) on her whims, and ad 25.9.7 (p. 294) inter alia on the spelling with capital or small letter F. Ad 22.1.1 (p. 1) it is noted that Amm. starts a new book several times with a reference to *fortuna* or *fatum*. In the present book Fortuna is also mentioned in 4.4 and 10.7. For Bellona, goddess and personification of war, see the extensive notes ad 21.5.1 (p. 51), 24.7.4 (pp. 211–212) and 28.1.1 (pp. 4–5). The belligerent goddess was called to arms by Fortuna's wheel and associated herself with the *Furiae*, dangerous beings breathing destruction: *caedes incendiaque flatantes* (29.1.33, p. 55); cf. for the *Furiae* also 29.2.21 (p. 106) and Funke, 1972.

These actions of Fortuna and her helpers brought the miseries (*maestos... eventus*) eastward—as in 26.3.1 and 26.5.15, the word *oriens* refers to the East in general, Valens' part of the empire, and not, as in 20.1.1 (p. 2), merely to the *dioecesis Orientis*. This was in accordance with the predictions made by expert interpreters (*vates auguresque*, § 2) of the signs, who understood the reliability (*fides*) of the *praesagia* and *portenta*. See for this meaning of *fides* concerning historical records ad 23.6.25 (p. 161) and Sabbah 20–24. Amm. puts the reliability of oracles and other forms of divination on a par with historical evidence; cf. the addition of *clara* in 21.13.6 about the information gathered by *nuntii...certissimi*. Matthews 427–428 interprets the entire section on Fortuna as "hardly more than an elaborate literary gesture designed to change the scene"; cf. the notes ad 22.1.1 (p. 1) and 26.3.1 (p. 60).

- 1.2 *post multa enim, quae vates auguresque praedixere veridice, resultabant canes ululantibus lupis et querulum quoddam nocturnae volucres tinniebant et flebile et squalidi solis exortus hebetabant matutinos diei candores* Note the importance of the consensus particle *enim*: the barking echo (*resultabant*) of the dogs obviously proved the correctness of the experts' prediction, as did the shrill, plaintive singing of birds during the night. "There is scarcely a nation that does not associate the howling of dogs with impending death". Thus Burriss, 1935, 35, pointing inter alia to the howling of dogs which pre-

saged the deaths of Julius Caesar and the emperor Maximinus according to Ov. *Met.* 15.797–798 (*nocturnos ululasse canes...ferunt*) and HA *Max.* 31.2 (*canes circa tentorium eius...ultra duodecim ulularunt*), respectively; cf. for the dog as a symbol of death Toynbee, 1973, 122–124, Hünemörder, 1998, 757 and Requena Jiménez, 2014, 75–78. Among the *mortis omina* portending Maximinus' death were also, or so it is said, no fewer than five hundred wolves (*lupi quingenti*) who had appeared in the town where the emperor would die (HA *Max.* 31.3). For the appearance of wolves as a bad omen see Liv. 3.29.9, 21.46.2, App. *BC* 4.4, D.C. 39.20.2, 40.17.1, Obseq. 52 (cf. Hünemörder, 2002, 568, Trinquier, 2004, 78–92 and Rissanen, 2015). For the howling of wolves cf. e.g. Verg. *G.* 1.485–486 *et altae / per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes*, Apul. *Fl.* 17 *luporum acutus ululatus*, D.C. 69.14.2–3 λύκοι ὕαιναί τε πολλαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐσέπιπτον ὠρυόμεναι. Note that *ululare* can also be said of dogs (e.g. Ov. *Met.* 15.797 *nocturnos ululasse canes*, Oros. *hist.* 5.18.9; cf. Requena Jiménez, 2014, 93–105), which makes *resultabant* the more telling. As to the *nocturnae volucres*, one is reminded of the *bubo culminibus regii lavacri insidens occentansque funebria* seen by Valens' brother Valentinian shortly before his death 30.5.16 (p. 135).

Apart from *vates auguresque* there was the philosopher Maximus (*PLRE* I, Maximus 21), executed during Valens' reign by the *proconsul Asiae* Festus in 371 or 372 (see ad 29.1.42, pp. 68–69), who, according to Eun. *VS* 7.6.4, once said: “the emperor will die a strange death and will not be given burial or the honour of a tomb” (ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένον τινὰ ἀναφθαρῆσεται τρόπον οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἀξιωθεὶς, οὐδὲ ἐνδόξου τάφου, tr. Wright). For the prophecy of the monk Isaac about Valens' death see below, ad 31.11.1 (p. 183).

V's *timebat* is evidently wrong. Adrien de Valois' correction *tinriebant* is preferable to *tiniebant* (Petschenig, 1892, 689) in view of the noun *tinnitus* in 14.6.18, 16.5.4, 24.4.22 and 25.3.12. The sun followed suit with its murky (*squalidi*) appearance at daybreak, which dimmed the morning's brightness.

*et Antiochiae per rixas tumultusque vulgares id in consuetudinem venerat, ut, quisque vim se pati existimaret, “vivus ardeat Valens” licentius clamitaret, vocesque praeconum audiebantur assidue mandantium congeri ligna ad Valentini lavacri succensionem studio ipsius principis conditi* The emperor Valens resided from 371 (see ad 29.1.4, pp. 8–9) till the spring of 378 (31.11.1, p. 183) mostly in Antioch (cf. Barnes 252–253); general literature about this city is cited ad 22.9.14 (p. 176), 25.10.1 (p. 309) and 26.2.20 (p. 174), to which can be added De Giorgi, 2015.

During riots in the streets of the Syrian capital people had adopted the habit of venting their feelings by shouting to their hearts' content (*licen-*

*tius*): ‘may Valens be burnt alive’. The background to this surprising curse was the continuous calling of the heralds for wood needed to heat the new baths built on the emperor Valens’ order. Cf. Sabbah’s translation: “les cris des hérauts commandant sans trêve d’amasser du bois pour le chauffage des bains de Valens”. Rolfe’s “to set fire to the baths of Valens” and Seyfarth’s “um die Badeanstalt des Valens in Brand zu setzen” seem to miss the point; however, we do know that Valens’ baths in Antioch at some time or another were partially burnt: Evagr. *HE* 1.20 reports that Theodosius (whether Theodosius I or Theodosius II is disputed; cf. Downey, 1941, 209ff.) gave money for their restoration: χρυσίον δὲ διακοσίας ἔλκον λίτρας (“two hundred pounds’ weight of gold”, tr. Walford) τῷ Βάλεντος ἐδωρήσατο λουτρῶ κατὰ τι μέρος ἐμπρησθέντι (pace Lenski, 2002, 399 n. 29 the baths mentioned by Evagrius were in Antioch, not in Constantinople). Malalas *Chron.* 13.339 relates that Valens’ baths were built near the Hippodrome: ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ τὸ δημόσιον λουτρὸν πλησίον τοῦ Ἰππικοῦ; cf. Poccardi, 2001, 157 n. 10. Lenski, 2002, 401 refers for these also to Michael Syrus *Chron.* 1.294 (Chabot) and for what remains of baths in Antioch to Poccardi, 1994, 1003–1004. See most recently Saliou, 2014 and for Valens’ building policy in general Brands, 2016, 19–30. Valens built or completed baths not only in Antioch, but in Constantinople as well: see 26.6.14 (pp. 155–156) and § 4 below (pp. 6–7). One wonders whether those who dared to shout “*vivus ardeat Valens*” went scot-free, if indeed the slogan is historical and not invented *ex eventu*; the words anticipate 31.13.15 and 31.16.2, as the opening words of § 3 indicate: *quae hunc illi impendere exitum vitae modo non aperte loquendo monstrabant*.

The term *praeco* occurs three times in Amm., apart from the present text in 22.3.4 (p. 25) and 28.2.13 (p. 143). The *praecones* here apparently acted on the orders of those to whom the management of the baths was entrusted—there were eighteen public baths in Antioch, one for each quarter of the city (Lib. *Or.* 11.245, 19.62). From the end of the fourth century onwards the heating of the baths was paid out of civic or special funds (cf. e.g. *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.32, *Cod. Iust.* 1.4.26, 10.30.4), but during the fourth century the costs were usually covered by liturgies: Lib. *Or.* 1.272, 2.34, 11.245, 26.5–6, 28.6, 35.4, 49.10 with Jones 735–736 and n. 55 on p. 1304. Cf. further Meusel, 1960, 123–131 and Merten, 1983, 48–58.

Note that *Valentinus* is the adj. derived from the name *Valens* and that *quisque* here means “whoever” (OLD s.v. 9); see further Szantyr 201–202. Amm. uses the rare Late Latin noun *succensio*, ‘kindling of a fire’, in one other passage: 25.10.13, about the fire in the room in which Jovian died. For *princeps* (and *principatus*) see ad 20.2.1 (p. 10), 20.4.8 (p. 71) and 20.4.12 (p. 81).

*quae hunc illi impendere exitum vitae modo non aperte loquendo monstrabant. super his larvale simulacrum Armeniae regis et miserabiles umbrae paulo ante in negotio Theodori caesorum per quietem stridendo carmina quaedam neniarum horrenda multos diris terroribus agitabant* What people shouted in the streets presaged almost (*modo non*) literally how Valens' life was to end in 378. But there was more. The deceased were present too, the Armenian king Papa, who had been murdered, most probably in 375, by Valens' order (30.1.18–22, pp. 20–26; cf. for *larvale simulacrum* Apul. *Met.* 1.6.3), as well as the many victims of the outrageous prosecution of the men who were accused of participation in the conspiracy which aimed at dethroning Valens in favour of the *notarius* Theodorus (29.1.5–2.20, pp. 9–105). As to *paulo ante*, in the commentary on Book 29 (p. xiii) it is noted that it seems reasonable to suppose that allegations of treason as well as treason trials began at the end of 371 and continued in 372.

The deceased made themselves heard: during the night their shrill voices uttered some horrifying dirges which upset and scared many people. “*Nenia* is the stock phrase for dirge” (De Jonge ad 19.1.10, p. 21). In the present text the gen. can be interpreted as ‘explicativus’ (in regard to *carmina*). In 30.2.9 the *manes* are explicitly said to be wandering around unavenged. The present text probably suggests the same conviction. As to *agitabant*, more than a century ago the editors of TLL devoted an entire page (I 1331.6–1333.3) to *agitare* as a synonym of *vexare*, *inritare*, *inquietare*, with several instances in Amm.

*vaccula gurgulione consecto exanimis visa est iacens, cuius mors publicorum funerum aerumnas indicabat amplas et pervulgatas* The scene will remind readers of the discovery of a dead body during Constantius' march to confront Julian (21.15.2, p. 230) as well as of one at Cercusium, when the Roman forces commanded by Julian had invaded Persian territory (23.5.6, p. 94). However, in both cases it was the body of a man, whereas in the present text it is a dead animal. The editors of the *Res Gestae* do not agree about the identity of the animal which was left on the street with its throat cut, obviously prophesying big future troubles. For this reason *vaccula*, ‘little cow’, which Amm. may have found in Apul. *Met.* 7.25, seems far less likely than ‘eagle’ (*aquila*), proposed by Henri de Valois. In his commentary on Cic. *Div.* 1.26 *aquilae admonitus volatu* Pease offers a long list of texts in which eagles are often in various ways associated with people in high places. Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 2.17.2 *interea, pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilae petere silvas et intrare visae imperatorem advertere* (‘meanwhile a splendid augury was reported to the commander-in-chief: eight eagles had been seen to fly towards the

woods and to enter them'). For these reasons the ugly death of an eagle in the present text is ominous indeed, and even more so if we accept Sabbah's addition of *vaga*: 'having lost his way' the eagle had been killed, an alarming omen for Valens.

*denique cum Calchedonos subverterentur veteres muri, ut apud Constantino-polim aedificaretur lavacrum, ordine resoluti saxorum in quadrato lapide, qui structura latebat in media, hi Graeci versus incisi reperti sunt futura plene pandentes* Amm.'s text comes close to Socr. *HE* 4.8.1–2: 'Ο... βασιλεὺς Χαλκηδόνος τῆς κατ' ἀντικρὺ Βυζαντίου πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος λύειν προσέταττεν. Ὁμωμόκει γὰρ τοῦτο ποιήσιν νικήσας τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι Χαλκηδόνιοι τῷ τυράννῳ προσθέμενοι αἰσχροῦς αὐτὸν περιύβρισαν καὶ τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως προσιόντος ἀπέκλεισαν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλύετο, καὶ οἱ λίθοι εἰς τὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως δημόσιον λουτρὸν μετεφέροντο, ᾧ προσωνημία Κωνσταντιαναί ("An order was issued by the emperor that the walls of Chalcedon, a city opposite Byzantium, should be demolished: for he had sworn to do this, after having conquered the usurper, because the Chalcedonians had sided with the usurper, and had used insulting language toward Valens and shut their gates against him as he neared their city. In consequence of the imperial decree, therefore, the walls were razed and the stones were conveyed to Constantinople to serve for the building of the public baths which are called Constantianae", tr. Zenos, adapted). The τύραννος mentioned by Socrates is Procopius (*PLRE* I, Procopius 4), whose usurpation is described by Amm. in chapters 7–9 of Book 26; for αἰσχροῦς αὐτὸν περιύβρισαν cf. Amm. 26.8.3 (pp. 216–217): *probra in eum iaciebantur et irrisive compellabatur ut sabaia-rius*; cf. further Joh. Ant. fr. 184 Müller = 276 Roberto, where it is mentioned that the baths were built by Constantine, not Constantius: τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν (sc. Chalcedon) λίθους εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Κωνσταντίνου λουτρὸν μεταφέρων and see for this and other baths in Constantinople Lenski, 2002, 395 and 399, with references; for the *Anastasianae balneae* see also 26.6.14 (pp. 155–156). See for the spelling of the name Chalcedon ad 22.3.2 (p. 20).

Zon. 13.16, in contrast to Amm. and Socrates, relates that the stones from the walls of Calchedon were used for the construction of an aquaduct: ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐάλης τῇ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Χαλκηδόνος ὕλῃ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ὁλκοῦ ἐχρήσατο ὕδατος, ὃν ἀγωγὸν ἢ δημόδης ὀνομάζει φωνή, καὶ τοῦτον Οὐάλεντα ἐπωνόμασε, δι' οὗ πεποιήκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὕδωρ εἰσάγεσθαι, ἵν' ἀφθονία ὕδατος εἴη αὐτῇ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην χρῆσιν καὶ πρὸς λουτρά ("Now Valens used the material of Chalcedon's wall for construction of an aquaduct, which popular parlance terms 'conduit', by which he caused water to be brought to the city, in order that there be in it an abundance of water for other use and for bathing, and

he named it ‘Valens’”, tr. Banchich/Lane). The aquaduct is mentioned by Socrates in *HE* 4.8.7.

Suet. *Jul.* 81 has a similar story: Julius Caesar’s murder had been foretold in an inscription in Greek on a bronze tablet discovered in a tomb (Plaikner, 1978, 59): *paucos ante menses, cum in colonia Capua deducti lege Iulia coloni ad extruendas villas vetustissima sepulcra dis[s]icerent...tabula aenea in monimento, in quo dicebatur Capys conditor Capuae sepultus, inventa est conscripta litteris verbisque Graecis hac sententia: quandoque ossa Capyis detecta essent, fore ut illo prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur magnisque mox Italiae cladibus vindicaretur* (“A few months before, when the settlers assigned to the colony at Capua by the Julian law were demolishing some tombs of great antiquity to build country houses...there was discovered in a tomb, which was said to be that of Capys, the founder of Capua, a bronze tablet, inscribed with Greek words and characters to this purport: ‘Whenever the bones of Capys shall be laid bare, it will come to pass that a son of Ilus shall be slain at the hands of his kindred, and presently avenged at heavy cost to Italy’”, tr. Rolfe, adapted).

The phrase *futura plene pandentes* emphasizes the importance of the inscription. As is shown in OLD s.v. *pandere* 6, this verb was often used regarding the revelations of an oracle. Some instances of this can be found in the *Res Gestae*: *hic Besae dei localiter appellati oraculum quondam futura pandebat* (19.12.3), *extispicia nonnumquam futura pandentia* (22.12.7). Here the text cut into the stone is even said to provide complete information about the future. Amm. uses the adverb *plene* a few times about a passage in his work: *ut dudum rettulimus plene* (25.4.23), *(Caesarea) cuius itidem originem in Africa situ digessimus plene* (29.5.18); see also TLL X 2.2424.55–2425.15. The reader is now implicitly invited to interpret the Greek verses which are quoted as a reliable oracle. Provided he remembers the contents of the first chapter of Book 21 (where, admittedly, no explicit reference to oracles is given), he will not be surprised by this invitation.

ἀλλ’ ὁπότεν νύμφαι δροσεραί κατὰ ἄστρῳ χορείῃ  
 τερπόμεναι στρωφῶνται ἔυστεφέας κατ’ ἀγκυιάς,  
 καὶ τεῖχος λουτροῖο πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἄλκαρ,  
 δὴ τότε μυρία φύλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων  
 Ἰστρου καλλιρόοιο πόρον περάοντα σὺν αἰχμῇ  
 καὶ Σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ Μυσίδα γαίην,  
 Παιονίης δ’ ἐπιβάντα σὺν ἑλπίσι μαινομένησιν  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ βιότοιο τέλος καὶ δῆριν ἐφέξει.

'but when dew-laden nymphs in the city, enjoying their dance,  
are pirouetting in the garlanded streets,  
and the wall of many tears will protect the bath,  
attention! the countless hordes of widespread men,  
crossing the beautiful stream of the Istros with their weapons  
will destroy the country of the Scythians and the Mysian earth,  
but, when they enter Paeonia with crazy aspirations,  
they shall find there the end of their life and a battle.'

Put into prosaic terms the oracle means: when the festivities marking the opening of the new baths will take place, then there will be an invasion of barbarian hordes.

In Socr. *HE* 4.8.6 (not mentioned by Pomer Monferrer, 2007, 290, who cites Amm. without further comment) we find the following text: 'Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ νύμφαι δροσερὴν κατὰ ἄστυ χορεῖν / τερπόμεναι στήσονται ἐυστεφέας κατ' ἀγυιάς / καὶ τεῖχος λουτροῖο πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἄλκαρ, / δὴ τότε μυρία φύλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων, / ἄγρια, μαργαίνοντα, κακὴν ἐπιειμένα ἄλκην, / Ἴστρου καλλιρόοιο πόρον διαβάντα σὺν αἰχμῇ / καὶ Σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ Μυσίδα γαίαν, / Θρηκτικὴς δ' ἐπιβάντα σὺν ἐλπίσι μαινομένησιν, / αὐτοῦ κεν βίότοιο τέλος καὶ πότμον ἐπίσποι (cf. Zon. 13.16). Socrates' version of the oracle differs in a number of respects, varying in importance between minor details and the addition of an entire verse between verses 4 and 5 (ἄγρια, μαργαίνοντα, κακὴν ἐπιειμένα ἄλκην), which adds more details to the description of the terrifying aggressors: 'savage, raging furiously, clad in evil prowess'.

See for the μυρία φύλα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων (for the wording cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.804) / Ἴστρου καλλιρόοιο πόρον περάοντα (vs. 4–5) the note about the numbers of the Goths ad 31.4.6 (p. 69). In vs. 6 (καὶ Σκυθικὴν ὀλέσει χώραν καὶ Μυσίδα γαίαν), which is almost totally identical with vs. 7 in the versions of Socrates and Zonaras, the topographical names refer to the Roman provinces Mysia/Moesia inferior/Moesia Secunda and Scythia, where the Thervingian and Greuthungian Goths crossed the Danube (cf. the commentary ad 31.4.5, p. 67, and 31.5.3, pp. 84–85).

In vs. 7 all editors accept Valesius' conjecture Παιονίης for V's ΠΑΙΟΝΝΣ. The use of this name is not immediately clear. "Die thrakische Region Päonien, die vom Krieg unberührt bleibt, wird stellvertretend für Thrakien genannt", is Plaikner's interpretation (1978, 61). At first sight this suggestion seems plausible: the Goths who crossed the Danube in 376 were given permission to move to *Thraciae partes* and settle there (31.4.5, pp. 65–66); note that in the corresponding line 8 of Socrates and Zonaras we find Θρηκτικῆς. In Plaikner's words: "Die Prophezeiung unterrichtet über die wichtig-

sten Etappen des feindlichen Einfalls und der kriegerischen Aktionen: die Überschreitung der Donau durch die Goten, ihren Durchbruch durch die Landschaften Skythien und Mösien in das Innere Thrakiens und die dort ausbrechenden Kämpfe" (ibid.). However, it is doubtful whether the region where the Paeonians used to live, that is, in the valleys of the rivers Axios and Strymon (Hom. *Il.* 2.848–850, Hdt. 5.1.2, 5.13.2, Thuc. 2.96.3, cf. Str. 7.5.1; Talbert 49 D2), should be called Thracian rather than Macedonian (cf. Errington, 2000). D.S. 17.17.4 clearly discerns between Thracians and Paeonians. Moreover, Plaikner's words "die vom Krieg unberührt bleibt" are odd: why should the author of the oracle choose the name of a region which was not affected by the troubles resulting from the Goths' crossing of the Danube? The latter objection is also valid when one takes Παιονίης in the sense of 'Pannonia', as do e.g. Rolfe, Seyfarth and Sabbah in their translations. In itself this is a possibility (LSJ s.v. Παῖονες and Παιονία: "in later writers used for Παννονία, Παννόνιοι"; cf. e.g. Philostr. *VS* 560), but the diocese of the Pannoniae, later called Illyricum (for which see ad 21.5.13, p. 72), was not the scene of the Gothic invasion in 376 either (pace Eun. *fr.* 42 and Zos. 4.20.7; see ad 31.5.9, pp. 94–95).

Most of the problems, regardless of whether one takes Παιονίης as 'Paeonia in Macedonia' or 'Pannonia' (but the latter seems preferable), disappear when one assumes that the author of the oracle did not so much have in mind the situation of 376, as that of the period after the battle of Adrianople. After 9 August 378 it was not only Thrace which was ravaged by war. Cf. 31.16.7 (the Goths) *digressi sunt effusorie per arctoas provincias, quas peragravere licenter ad usque radices Alpium Iuliarum* and Pan. 2.11.4 *Perdidi infortunata Pannonias, lugeo funus Illyrici*, "I (= the Res Publica personified) have lost the Pannonias; I grieve the destruction of Illyria" (tr. Nixon). In *Or.* 24.3 Libanius speaks about Roman 'blood shed in Thrace, much of Macedonia and the greater part of Illyria' (τὴν αἵματι χρωσθεῖσαν Θράκην καὶ Μακεδονίας οὐ μικρὸν καὶ τῆς Ἰλλυριῶν τὴν πολλήν). See further Zos. 4.24.4 (with Paschoud's n. 151 on p. 385) Θράκης μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων ταύτῃ βαρβάρων κατεχομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Παιονίαν τόπων ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων ἐνοχλουμένων, Ambr. *fid.* 2.140 *nonne de Thraciae partibus per ripensem Daciam et Mysiam omnemque Valeriam Pannoniorum totum illum limitem sacrilegis pariter vocibus et barbaris motibus audivimus inhorrentem?*, Ambr. *off.* 2.70 (*Illyrici vastitate et Thraciae*), Them. *Or.* 14.181 a-b (Δακῶν...Θρακῶν...Ἰλλυριῶν), 16.206 d (Θρακῶν...Ἰλλυριῶν), 34.24.

Two problems remain to be discussed, viz. the reading of the final two words of the oracle and the meaning of vs. 8. All editores accept Valesius' conjecture ἐφέξει for V's ΕΦΕΖΕΙ, but about V's ΔΗΡΕΙΝ there is diversity



of opinion. Clark and Seyfarth follow Petschenig, 1892, 688 and read δῆριν. Petschenig assumed that ἐφέξει = ἔξει, and apparently interpreted the sentence as follows: ‘when (the Gothic hordes) enter Paeonia (Παιονίης δ’ ἐπιβάντα), they shall find there (αὐτοῦ...ἐφέξει) the end of their life and a battle (καὶ βίοτοιο τέλος καὶ δῆριν)’, that is, shall fight there a battle which brings them ruin. Rolfe, Sabbah and Viansino on the other hand prefer Valesius’ conjecture δῆρις for V’s ΔΗΡΕΙΝ, and take βίοτοιο τέλος καὶ δῆρις as subject of ἐφέξει, here in the meaning of ‘to keep in check, to hinder’. This implies that they have to supplement an object: ‘when they (the Gothic hordes) enter Paeonia...the end of their life and a battle will keep <them> there in check’ (“hos illic fatum et Martis violentia sistet”, Valesius).

Whichever reading one prefers, vs. 8 corroborates the suggestion made above that the oracle does not allude to the invasion of the Goths in 376, which culminated in the defeat of the Roman army in the battle of Adrianople and Valens’ death, but to the situation after 378. The last verse of the oracle points to the fact that in the end the barbarians suffered defeat. And indeed, in 379 and 380, during the reign of Theodosius, Roman victories were won over the Goths and other barbarians: *ipso anno multa bella Romani cum Gothis commiserunt. deinde victoriae nuntiatae sunt adversus Gothos, Alanos atque Hunos die xv k. Dec. (Consul. Constant. a. 379), victoriae nuntiatae sunt amborum Augustorum, sc. Theodosius and Gratian (ibid. a. 380). In 382 universa gens Gothorum cum rege suo in Romaniam se tradiderunt die v non. Oct. (ibid. a. 382). In the period between 382 and 395 “significant barbarian troubles in the region had in fact ceased” (Lenski, 1997, 159).*

## CHAPTER 2

### *Introduction*

In this chapter we are presented with a double digression, i.e. there are two ethnographical characterizations of the Huns and the Alans respectively. The reason is, that Ammianus mentions the nomadic Huns and Alans several times together in Book 31. Ethnographical accounts are a familiar feature in the *Res Gestae*, although mostly in the context of geographical digressions, for instance those on the Gauls (15.12), the Egyptians (22.16.23) and the Persians (23.6.75–84). This excursus, like the one about the Saracens (14.4), stands on its own, probably because these nomadic or pastoralist peoples did not live within a well defined geographical area. The digression is placed at a dramatic point in the narrative, between the omnia predicting disaster in chapter one, and the account of the military confrontations with the Goths in chapter three. The Huns are considered to be the prime cause of the disasters that befell the Roman Empire; Ammianus calls their invasion of the territories of Alans and Goths *sementem totius exitii* and *cladum diversarum originem* in the opening paragraph of the chapter. Considering this observation, it is noteworthy that Ammianus hardly refers to the Huns in the rest of the book.

The sections 2–11 present a characterization of the Huns, and the sections 17–25 are about the Alans. The sections in between (12–16) function as a transition between the descriptions of the two peoples, and offer Ammianus the opportunity to present the vast geographical area of Scythia, where Huns and Alans are supposed to have had their domicile before they migrated westwards.

The following features of the Huns pass in review: physical appearance (§ 2); food (§ 3); housing (§ 4); dress (§ 5–6); living on horseback (§ 6–7); lack of established authority (§ 7); fighting habits (§ 8–9); lack of agriculture (§ 10); faithlessness and unreliability, no reverence for religion (§ 11); thirst for gold and an insatiable appetite for plundering (§ 11–12). Ammianus portrays the Huns as a subhuman mass—the beast metaphor is very prominent—and Hunnic society as the absolute opposite of Graeco-Roman civilization.

Early in the 370s the Huns appeared on the scene quite suddenly. They seem to have been practically unknown to the Romans, as Ammianus'

remark *Hunorum gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota* (§1) shows. They originated from a remote corner of the earth (*ex abdito sinu coortum*, 31.3.8) beyond the Sea of Asov close to the frozen ocean (§2 *ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale oceanum accolens*). Neither Ammianus, nor any other source, explains their trek to the west. Ammianus' sources of information regarding the digression are unknown, but Gothic oral data have been suggested.

The excursus stands in a long tradition of ethnographical discourse in the ancient world, and Ammianus used that tradition and earlier templates about nomadic peoples for writing his account of the Huns and the Alans as well. He also used material from ethnographical descriptions in the earlier books of his *Res Gestae*, in particular that about the Saracens (14.4).

Ammianus' account about the Alans, the former Massagetae (§12), whom he calls *Nomades* (§17) in Greek, is the only preserved ethnography of this tribe. *Alani* is a generic name for various nations (§16 *diffusi per populosas gentes et amplas*) living in the steppes of Europe and Asia (§13, and 17 *per utramque mundi plagam*). Although the Huns are excessively savage, the Alans resemble them in many respects: they live in wagons and do not practice agriculture but live off the land and eat meat; they are glued to their horses, and dislike going on foot. There are also differences: the Alans have cattle, practice some form of religion and have a rudimentary political organization. Unlike the Huns, the Alans were known to the Romans; they already occur in first-century sources which Ammianus may have known, as appears from his reference to earlier works of geographers in §12. Nevertheless, in his Alanic account he also makes use of earlier ethnographical writings about nomadic peoples. The portrayal of the Alans has a clear Herodotean imprint; in particular the paragraphs that separate the Hunnic account from the description of the Alans are inspired by Herodotus' digression on Scythia and the peoples living there, in Book 4 of his *Histories*. Many of these peoples are also mentioned by Ammianus: Sauromatae, Nervii, Vidini, Geloni, Agathyrsi, Melanchlaenae, Anthropophagi.

It is clear that Ammianus had very little factual knowledge about Huns and Alans. In accordance with traditional ethnographical writing, he displays a culturally determined attitude by portraying the Huns and the Alans as very primitive and savage, and as the ultimate Other if set against Graeco-Roman civilization according to which the nomad is considered as the "ultimate barbaric human type" (Shaw, 1982/1983, 6). In portraying the Huns and Alans in the way he does, Ammianus presents ideas and images recognizable to his readers by committing himself to the ancient historiographical tradition of describing otherness.

The digression is the first extant description of the Hunnic people and has for a long time been considered an important and reliable source of information about the early history of the Huns and their society. In recent decades there has been a trend to question the veracity of Ammianus' description of the Huns. Modern scholarship considers the account fanciful and of little historical value. Mythical and anachronistic elements have been included by Ammianus in order to create a literary image of the stereotypical nomad.

*Totius autem sementem exitii et cladum originem diversarum, quas Martius furor incendio insolito miscendo cuncta concivit, hanc comperimus causam* 2.1  
A new discourse topic is introduced by *autem*. This sentence, as it is printed in all editions, is ungrammatical, since *sementem* and *originem* should be genitives depending on *causam*. It is quite conceivable that the author lost his way in this stylistic tour de force. Alternatively *causam* may have been a marginal gloss on *sementem* and *originem* that was inadvertently admitted into the text. The first part of the sentence is not pleonastic. Amm. distinguishes between 'sowing (season) of total ruin' in general and the actual germination of various disasters: "as ye sow, so shall ye reap". See for the gen. plur. *cladum* ad 28.1.14 (p. 33). Counter to expectation *Martius furor* occurs only rarely, but it suits the present text well. For *miscere cuncta* cf. 31.16.1 *miscentes cuncta populationibus et incendiis*. The abl. of the gerund is equivalent to the present participle, as is often the case; see ad 20.4.22 (p. 109) and 23.6.79 (p. 220). This results in '(disasters) which the madness of war provoked creating total chaos by means of a fire which nobody was accustomed to' (*incendio insolito*). Perhaps the entire phrase was inspired by *incendia miscet* (Verg. *A.* 2.329). The verb *comperire*, 'to gather information', occurs more than thirty times in the *Res Gestae*, but apart from the present text only in 25.10.13 and 31.13.17 about the author himself.

*Hunorum gens monumentis veteribus leviter nota ultra paludes Maeoticas glaciale oceanum accolens omnem modum feritatis excedit* In Latin sources the Huns are designated as *Hunus*, *Hunnus* or *Chunnus*; Harmatta, 1997, 159; Schäfer, 2014, 62–65. The vagueness of *comperimus* in the previous lemma is now explained: for reliable information about the Huns the author consulted various ancient writings; see for such a meaning of *monumentum* ad 22.16.13 (p. 300), 23.5.20 (p. 124) and 30.4.5 (p. 71), but this material did not contain many details. Before the Huns crossed the Tanais and invaded Europe in the 370s very little was known about them, as Amm. himself acknowledges by calling the Huns an *inusitatum antehac hominum genus*

(31.3.8). The term *feritas* and its derivatives are most often used to describe barbarians; see ad 20.1.1 (pp. 2–3) and Seager 55–56. Here it is best interpreted in a very general sense: ‘lack of civilization’.

Eunapius (*fr.* 41) has a similar but more elaborate passage about his sources; he not only refers to ancient authors but also to oral accounts about the Huns: Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς συγγραφῆς, οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν σαφὲς λέγειν ἔχοντος ὅθεν τε ὄντες οἱ Οὐννοὶ ὅπη τε κείμενοι τὴν Εὐρώπην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἔτριψαν γένος, ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν συντιθέντι κατὰ τοὺς εἰκότας λογισμοὺς εἶρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων δοξάζοντι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβές, ὥς ἂν μὴ πρόσω τοῦ πιθανοῦ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπαρτήσαιμεν μηδὲ παραφέροι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁ λόγος (“The first accounts of the history of the Huns, written at a time when no one had anything clear to say about their place of origin and where they were living when they overran all Europe and crushed the Scythian nation, I have collected from the ancient authors and set down according to the criterion of probability. For the material drawn from oral reports I have used the criterion of accuracy, in order that my account not fall short in reliability and my narrative not do violence to the truth”, tr. Blockley). Unfortunately, not much else is left of Eunapius’ account of the Huns apart from what Zosimus reports about them in 4.20. Barnes, 1978, 116 ff. and Paschoud n. 142 suggest that this passage about the Huns was part of the first edition of Eunapius’ history, written shortly after the Huns came to the attention of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire in 376.

Amm.’s digression is the first extant description of the Hunnic people. There are a few references to the Huns in second-century sources. Dionysios Periegetes’ Θῦνοι (v. 730), whom the poet from Alexandria locates north of the Caspian Sea, may have been a branch of the Huns that had moved westward; possibly identical with Pliny the Elder’s *Phuni* (*Nat.* 6.55). Also Dionysius’ Φροῦροί (v. 752), called a barbarian nation of the Seres, i.e. the Chinese, may have been part of the Hunnic people; Schäfer, 2014, 46–47. Some fifty years after Dionysius the Huns are mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy 3.5.10 μεταξύ δὲ Βαστερνῶν καὶ Ῥωξολάνων Χοῦνοι; apparently Ptolemy had no idea where to locate them since the Basternae were a Germanic people living in the area between Olbia and the Danube delta (Tokhtas’ev & Von Bredow, 1997), and the Roxolani lived north of the Sea of Asov between the Don and the Dniepr (Von Bredow, 2001); see also Harmatta, 1997, 163–164 on Ptolemy’s localization of the Huns. Since the references to the Huns in Dionysius and Ptolemy are so brief, it is difficult to imagine that Amm.’s phrase *monumenta vetera* refers to these authors, as Richter, 1974, 344 suggests. If Amm. is to be believed, there must have been either other accounts about the Huns which he consulted, or Gothic oral

information. However, it cannot be ruled out that Amm., who himself is unlikely ever to have encountered a Hun, composed the digression on the basis of earlier ethnographic reports, using the stereotypical image of the savage nomad; Guzmán Armario, 2001; Burgersdijk, 2016, 126–128.

After Dionysius and Ptolemy the sources are silent until Amm.'s ethnographic digression. Amm. not only presents the Huns as an extremely uncivilized people (*feritas*), but also as a novelty for Roman eyes (Matthews 333). There are similar statements in Jerome: *adv. Iovin.* 2.7 *Hunnorum nova feritas* and in *Is.* 3.7.21 *per feras gentes, et quondam nobis incognitas*. Zosimus starts his description of the crossing of the Danube by the Goths as follows: 4.20.3 Τούτων δὲ ὄντων ἐν τούτοις, φύλὸν τι βάρβαρον τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰστρον Σκυθικοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπανεστή, πρότερον μὲν οὐκ ἐγνωσμένον, τότε δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἀναφανέν· Οὐννοὺς δὲ τούτους ἐκάλουν ('Such was the situation when a barbarian people, previously unknown, suddenly appeared and attacked the Scythians who lived across the Danube. They called them Huns').

Geographically Amm. locates the Huns in the Eurasian steppes far to the northeast of the Palus Maeotis, i.e. the Sea of Asov (22.8.30, pp. 122–123). They lived near the frozen Ocean, to which Juvenal had wanted to flee: *Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale / Oceanum* (2.1–2); see Courtney's interesting geographical note ad loc. Cf. Amm.'s observation in 31.3.8 that the Huns originated from a remote corner of the earth (*ex abdito sinu coortum*). Jordanes, basing himself on Priscus (5th cent.), also locates the Huns on the other side of the Maeotis (*Get.* 123 *natio saeva, ut Priscus istoricus refert, Meotida palude ulteriore ripa insidens*). In his description of Scythia Jordanes (*Get.* 30) reports that this region extended to the east as far as the Huns, Albani and Seres: *quae in extremis Asiae finibus ab Oceano eoroboro...ad Hunnus* (sic), *Albanos et Seres usque digreditur*. Archaeological evidence, in particular a type of cauldron, points to the north flank of the Altai Mountains and the Minusinsk Basin as the homeland of the Huns; De la Vaissière, 2015, 186–188. The Huns clearly came from regions with a cold climate. From a Graeco-Roman perspective this, combined with their nomadic way of life, explains their *feritas*, which, according to Amm., exceeds that of all other barbarians; cf. Iord. *Get.* 121 *Hunnorum gens omni ferocitate atrocior*; Vergin, 2013, 259–268.

After Amm. a comparable description of the Huns was written by Claudianus, in *Rufin.* 1.323–331 *Est genus extremos Scythiae vergentis in ortus / trans gelidum Tanain, quo non famosius ullum / Arctos alit. turpes habitus obscaenaeque visu / corpora; mens duro numquam cessura labori; / praeda cibus, vitanda Ceres frontemque secari / ludus et occisos pulchrum iurare parentes. / nec plus nubigenas duplex natura bifformes / cognatis aptavit equis; acerrima*

*nullo / ordine mobilitas insperatique recursus* ("These Huns are a tribe who live on the extreme eastern borders of Scythia, beyond frozen Tanais; most infamous of all the children of the north. Hideous to look upon are their clothes and loathsome their bodies, and their spirit is unwilling to bear the strain of working the land. The chase supplies their food; bread they will not eat. They love to slash their faces and hold it a righteous act to swear by their murdered parents. Their double nature fitted no better the two-formed Centaurs to the horses that were part of them. Disorderly, but of incredible swiftness, they often return to the fight when little expected", tr. Platnauer, adapted). Fifth- and sixth century accounts about the Huns can be found, apart from Zosimus and Jordanes, in Priscus and Cassiodorus; Thompson, 1948, 9–14.

- 2.2 *ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro sulcantur altius genae, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens corrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes* The adv. *ubi* seems to refer to the 'frozen Ocean', but if this is correct the importance of the topographic detail remains enigmatic. Another interpretation of *ubi* could help to solve the problem. Kühner-Stegmann 2.284–285 mention a number of passages in which *ubi*, *unde*, *quo* etc. do not refer to places, but to people living there, in the present case the Huns.

The furrowing of the cheeks of newborn boys made the Huns beardless: when the wounds had healed, the scars made the growth of hair impossible. This practice does not tally with the portraits of bearded Huns, as is pointed out in Angliviel de la Beaumelle's note 353. For the scars cf. Sidon. *carm.* 2.245–246 *ita vultibus ipsis / infantum suus horror inest* ("for truly the very faces of their infants have a gruesomeness all their own", tr. Anderson). Jordanes (*Get.* 127–128) also mentions this habit, which inspired the following comment of Henri de Valois: "(Jordanes), cuius verba ex Marcellini nostri historiis translata esse non dubito." As this would be one of the very rare traces of Amm. in a later author, it is worth quoting the two passages in full, in order to demonstrate that De Valois' observation is highly persuasive. Note that Jordanes adds a motive for the mutilation: the Huns want to teach their children to endure pain.

Amm. 31.2.2–3

*ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum  
ferro sulcantur altius genae, ut pilorum  
vigor tempestivus emergens corrugatis  
cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt  
imberbes absque ulla venustate,  
spadonibus similes.*

Iord. *Get.* 127–128

*in pignora sua primo die nata  
desaeviunt. nam maribus ferro genas  
secant, ut ante quam lactis nutrimenta  
percipiant, vulneris cogantur subire  
tolerantiam. hinc imberbes senescunt et  
sine venustate efoebi sunt, quia facies  
ferro sulcata tempestivam pilorum  
gratiam cicatricis absumit.*

Henri de Valois suggests an alternative explanation for the wounding: “Observavi enim Hunnos in luctu genas cultris convulnerare solitos esse”, which implies that the scars are not the objective, but the consequence of the wounding. He quotes Sidon. *carm.* 7.238–240: (vincitur) *vulnere vel si quis plangit cui flesse feriri est / ac ferro perarasse genas vultuque minaci / rubra cicatricum vestigia defodisse* (“and in bearing of wounds you [Avitus] didst surpass any mourning barbarian / to whom wailing means self-wounding and tearing the cheeks with steel / and gouging the red traces of scars on his threatening face”, tr. Anderson). Mutilation as a form of mourning is also mentioned by Iord. *Get.* 255 *informes facies cavis turpavere vulneribus, ut proelior eximius non femineis lamentationibus et lacrimis, sed sanguine lugeretur virile* (“They made their faces hideous with deep wounds, that the renowned warrior might be mourned, not by effeminate wailings and tears, but by the blood of men”, tr. Mierow). See Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 274, 361; King, 1987 (1995), 79–80.

Throughout the *Res Gestae* Amm. expresses his dislike of eunuchs (see ad 23.6.18 [p. 151], 27.12.5 [p. 275, where also the only exception to this rule is mentioned] and 29.2.7 [pp. 85–86]), usually because of their inordinate influence on men in high places. The present text shows that he also detested their beardless faces. Amm. expressly adds the words *absque ulla venustate* to prevent the reader from thinking that the beardless faces of eunuchs and Huns held any charm, as is the case with young boys. Note that Jordanes’ version has the same association of ideas, as the words *sine venustate efoebi sunt* show. Although beards are a sign of virility (Maenchen-Helfen, 1955, 390 aptly quotes August. in *psalm.* 132.7: *barba significat fortes* and adds that Jerome calls the beard *virilitatis indicium* four times), the beardless Huns were by no means softies, as witness Hier. in *Is.* 3.7.21–22 *femineas incisasque facies praeferentes virorum (et bene barbatorum) fugientium terga confodiunt* (‘their faces may be womanly and marked, but they stab the backs of fleeing men, even those with full beards’).



*compactis omnes firmisque membris et opimis cervicibus prodigiose deformes et pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias vel quales in commarginandis pontibus effigiati stipites dolantur incompete* Such small and hunchbacked (*pandi*) warriors from the eastern world may have impressed their enemies, but the Mediterranean former military officer preferred elegant men of tall stature: see below § 21 about the Alans. The Huns were thickset (*compactis...membris*), had muscular necks, were monstrously ugly and bent: you might suppose them to be two-legged beasts, or the uncouth figures on the parapets of bridges, hewn without artistry from trunks of trees. What these figures looked like is not clear, but Richter, 1974, 355, n. 41 argues that they were Hermai, which e.g. marked crossings and boundaries. Their repulsive physical appearance highlighted the gruesome otherness of the Huns. In fact, the Huns are the only people whose looks elicit such extreme feelings from Amm.; Isaac, 2011, 250. Again Jordanes has a similar description (*Get.* 127–128): *et quos bello forsitan minime superabant, vultus sui terrore nimium pavorem ingerentes, terribilitate fugabant, eo quod erat eis species pavenda nigridinis et velud quaedam, si dici fas est, informis offa, non facies, habensque magis puncta quam lumina* (“They made their foes flee in horror because their swarthy aspect was fearful, and they had, if I may call it so, a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pin-holes rather than eyes”, tr. Mierow). The verb *commarginare* (“to put sides to bridges”, tr. Rolfe) is a hapax; its meaning can be inferred from *marginare* and *margo* (TLL VIII 394.17 sqq.). The ugliness of the Huns in Roman eyes may have to do with the fact that Huns flattened the front of their skulls. This cranial deformation, which seems to have been widespread among steppe nomades, resulted in the squashing and widening of the root of the nose, and the elongation of the forehead; Kelly, 2008, 34 and 297–298 (with references to literature).

- 2.3 *in hominum autem figura licet insuavi ita victu sunt asperi, ut neque ignis neque saporati indigeant cibi, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium et semicruda cuiusvis pectoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua equorumque terga subsertam fotu calefaciunt brevi* Amm. admits that, in fact, their shape is human, albeit without charm. The words *ita victu sunt asperi* are an emendation of Heraeus, accepted by Calboli in *Maia* 55 (2003) 400–401. It was presumably inspired by the combination of *victus* and *asper*, which can be found in various authors; Vergil is the first with *asper victu venatus* (*A.* 8.318). Richter, 1974, 345–346 agrees with the contents, but proposes another wording, viz. *vitae usu*, which is nearer to V’s *ita nisi*.

Their food was unrefined, and betrayed that the Huns lacked the lifestyle of civilized peoples and were therefore not fully human; Richter, 1974, 355–

356; Isaac, 2011, 250. Gathering food, like roots of wild plants, was normal for nomadic peoples; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 14. Jordanes (*Get.* 123) reports that the Huns practiced hunting to sustain themselves (*venationi tantum nec alio labore experta*), as does Claud. *in Rufin.* 1.327 (*praeda cibus*).

Perhaps Amm. had heard about the Huns keeping raw meat under their thighs when riding their horses, as King, 1987 (1995), 80 has it, but he clearly did not understand why they did this. The information, that they ate half-raw meat, is not correct and is probably only presented to create a contrast between Graeco-Roman civilization on the one hand and Hunnic society on the other. Archeological evidence has made clear that the Huns used fire, had cauldrons and cooked their meat; see Bóna, 1991, 140–146 for Hunnic cauldrons. The idea, that they prepared their meat by sitting on it on horseback, is a widespread and persistent myth, first found in Ammianus. Something similar is mentioned about the Germans by Mela (3.28): *victu ita asperi incultique ut cruda etiam carne vescantur aut recenti, aut cum rigentem...manibus pedibusque subigendo renovarunt* ('they are so rude and uncivilized that they even eat raw meat, either fresh or, when it is stiff, after making it edible again by kneading it with hands and feet'); Alföldi, 1944. In fact the Huns must have put the meat between their thighs and the backs of the horse to make it tender and to transport it while travelling to serve as provisions just as other nomadic peoples did; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 14–15, 326–327; Matthews 337–338; Kelly, 2008, 35. A curious explanation is suggested by Seyfarth, 1968, 208: "Der Sinn dieser Gewohnheit kann m.E. nur der sein, dass—abgesehen vom Mürbewerden—der salzige Pferdeschweiss der rohen Speise etwas Geschmack vermittelte."

Petschenig, 1892, 688 may well be right in preferring the gen. *cibi* to V's *cibis*: cf. *nullius cibi indigens mundioris* (21.9.2). In *adv. Iovin.* 2.7 Jerome deals with the customs and rules as regards the diets of various peoples. About the Huns he notes: *semicrudis vescuntur carnibus*. Maenchen-Helfen, 1955, 397 suggested that Jerome borrowed this information from Amm., but this cannot be proved and is rejected by Blockley, 1975, 177–180. It may be no more than a topos in the description of uncivilized people, or, as Marié maintains in her Introduction (pp. 10–11) to vol. 5 of the Budé edition, both authors used a common source.

*aedificiis nullis umquam tecti, sed haec velut ab usu communi discreta sepulchra declinant. nec enim apud eos vel harundine fastigatum repperiri tugurium potest, sed vagi montes peragrantes et silvas pruinas, famem sitimque perferre ab incunabilis assuescunt. peregre tecta nisi adigente maxima necessitate non subeunt; nec enim se tutos existimant esse sub tectis* As true

nomads they never wanted to live under the roof of any buildings, since they regarded these as tombs, which were separated from normal human society. This is not the first instance in the *Res Gestae* of *sepulchrum* as a term of abuse. Bishop Georgius called the beautiful temple of Τύχη in the centre of Alexandria a tomb (ad 22.11.7, p. 206). See for *declinare*, “to avoid”, OLD s.v. 5b. Among the Huns one will never find even the simplest hut (*tugurium*) with a roof made of reeds. They roamed about in woods and mountains, enduring frost, hunger and thirst.

The verb *vagari* and the adj. *vagus* usually occur in a negative context: *multitudo licentius vagabatur* (27.1.1), *per diversa vagantes multa populabantur* (27.8.5), *cum vastatoris globis vagantem* (31.9.3); see Chauvot, 2010, 240. Outside their own territory (*peregre*) there is another reason not to enter a house: they do not feel safe there. As the apparatus criticus shows, in this section a large series of lacunae begins to mar the text, challenging any editor to fill in the gaps with various conjectures. Richter’s handling of the material in an arithmetical manner, meticulously counting the missing letters, induces him to add *a fraude* before *tutos*.

The Saracens too did not have permanent homes (14.4.3 *sine lare sine sedibus fixis*), and the same applies to the Alans (31.2.18 *nec enim ulla sunt illis...tuguria*; 31.2.23 *ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest*). Justin (2.2.3) says the same about the Scythians (i.e. the Goths): *nec domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes est*. Instead, the Huns had their wagons (§10) which, as in the case of the wagons of the Alans, were probably covered by round roofs of bark (31.2.18 *plaustris supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum...conferunt*). Just like the Saracens (14.4.4), the Huns also had tents (made of felt and skins), and possibly even modest huts; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 179; Matthews 339; Kelly, 2008, 35–37. The eschewal of fixed homes by northern peoples has become a topos in Graeco-Roman literature. For instance Amm. reports about the Alamanni that they avoided cities (16.2.12 *ipsa oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant*).

- 2.5 *indumentis operiuntur linteis vel ex pellibus silvestrium murum consarcinatis nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis, sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos diffluerit defrustata* Cf. §10 below where Amm. mentions that the wives of the Huns weave their hideous garments: *coniuges taetra illis vestimenta contexunt*. Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 358 rightly gives vent to his surprise concerning the linen clothes. Linen is made of flax, a cultivated plant, which one does not associate with a nomadic people. It is contrasted with *ex pellibus silvestrium murum* (‘field-mice’) *consarcinatis* which

adds to the subhuman image that Amm. intends to present of the Huns. Justin 2.2.9 gives similar information about the Scythians: *Lanae his usus ac vestium ignotus et quamquam continuis frigoribus urantur, pellibus tamen ferinis ac murinis utuntur*. The Huns' wardrobe was very simple: the same garment was used inside and outside. But what does *domestica* indicate about people who have been described as always being outside? The reader may also be surprised by *coloris*: did the nomads paint their linen clothes? Be this as it may, the Huns wore their uniform garments until these fell totally apart. For *obsoletus* ("dingy", OLD s.v. 1b) cf. Suet. Nero 48.1 *obsoleti coloris*.

*galeris incurvis capita tegunt hirsuta crura coriis munientes haedinis eorum-  
que calcei formulis nullis aptati vetant incedere gressibus liberis* See Horsfall 2.6  
ad Verg. A. 7.688 on *galerus* denoting "an ancient cap of skin". Jerome (*epist.*  
64.13) speaks of a tiara which he describes as a round cap: *rotundum pille-  
olum...quasi sphaera media sit divisa, et pars una ponatur in capite; hoc Graeci  
et nostri tiaram, nonnulli galerum vocant*. It obviously struck Amm. as odd  
that the Huns covered their hairy legs with another hairy layer. The fact that  
their leggings were made of goat skin seems to imply that the Huns tended  
goats, and were therefore pastoralists. *Formula* means 'mould', 'last'. The  
Huns' footwear had not been made to measure, which predictably resulted  
in laborious movement. Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 171 suggests that the shoes  
were made of sheep's skin.

*qua causa ad pedestres parum accommodati sunt pugnas, verum equis prope  
affixi duris quidem, sed deformibus et muliebriter isdem nonnumquam insi-  
dentes funguntur muneribus consuetis* For this reason they were not prop-  
erly equipped for the infantry, but almost 'nailed' to their 'ugly' horses;  
sometimes in the side-saddle style, they performed their 'usual tasks' (*mune-  
ribus consuetis*). The steppe horses of the Huns must have looked misshapen  
(*deformibus*) to the Romans because of their smallness, their short legs and  
large heads; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 203–204. In the prologue to Book 2  
of his *Mulomedicina* Vegetius mentions that Hunnic horses are quite differ-  
ent from Roman horses, and that the Romans should not treat their horses  
as the Huns do, since Roman horses are delicate while those of the Huns  
are hardy creatures, used to cold and frost and without the need for sta-  
bles and medical care (*Primo quod barbaricorum animalium alia natura et  
ad omnem iniuriam durius corpus est. Deinde quod sic instituuntur a parvulis,  
ut nec potionem medicinalem requirant et hibernis pascuis vigeant ac sine per-  
niciie frigora pruinasque sustineant*). Vegetius rates the Hunnic horse highest

as a war horse: *Ad bellum Huniscorum longe prima docetur utilitas patientiae, laboris, frigoris, famis* (*mulom.* 3.6.2).

*ex ipsis quivis in hac natione pernox et perdius emit et vendit cibumque sumit et potum et inclinatus cervici angustae iumentum in altum soporem ad usque varietatem effunditur somniorum* With *ipsis* Amm. refers to the horses. It is an example of OLD s.v. *ipse*, 9: “to emphasize something as exceptional”. The absence of a proper time schedule, which distinguishes night and day, is for Amm. another astonishing aspect of the Huns’ way of life: they even fall asleep when mounted on their horses. This is confirmed by Zos. 4.20.4: ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ διαιτῶμενοι καὶ καθεύδοντες (“living and sleeping all the time on their horses”, tr. Ridley, slightly adapted). The verb *effundere* occurs often in the *Res Gestae*, both in its active and passive forms. It often denotes the loosening of restricting constraints. The present instance is an example of OLD s.v. 9: (pass.) “to cease to hold oneself back”. The Huns were sleeping and dreaming to their hearts’ content. For the phrase *varietatem somniorum* cf. *sunt enim innumerabiles varietates somniorum* (Cic. *Div.* 2.46). The passage as a whole may have been inspired, as Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 14 suggests, by Iust. 41.3.4 about the Parthians: *Equis omni tempore vectantur; illis bella, illis convivia, illis publica ac privata officia obeunt; super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui.*

- 2.7 *et deliberatione super rebus proposita seriis hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario primatum ductu contenti perrumpunt, quidquid inciderit* When a consultation about serious matters has been proposed, they all take part *hoc habitu* (‘in this style’, viz. on horseback), *in commune*, “for the good of all concerned” (OLD s.v. 4; see further ad 27.5.8, p. 119). Priscus (*fr.* 2) has similar information about a meeting between the Scythian (= Hunnic) kings and the Romans just outside the city of Margus in Illyria: καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐποι- οῦντο ἐπιβεβηκότες ἵππων· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποβάσι λογοποιεῖσθαι (“They held a meeting outside the city mounted on horseback. For the barbarians did not think it proper to confer dismounted”; tr. Blockley).

They are not under the strict rule of a king, but make the best of the improvised leadership of the elite. As in 26.5.10 (p. 116), the verb *agere* means “to lead, to bring into action” (OLD s.v. 13). See for *tumultuarius* ‘improvised’ ad 17.1.11 (p. 28), 24.2.18 (pp. 61–62), 24.5.3 (p. 153). With this sort of decision making they overcame any difficulty which presented itself; see TLL X 1.1667.55–68 for this meaning of *perrumpere*. The final words of this section betray an undeniable sympathy for this informal, but efficient method.

Although Amm. tries hard to give the impression that the Huns were unorganized barbarians, they must have had a considerable degree of political and military organization, since otherwise they would not have been able to threaten the Roman Empire for many decades in the way they did. However, Hunnic socio-political stratification is difficult to reconstruct because of the lack of sources. Amm.'s *primates* are probably the equivalent of *optimates* denoting the aristocracy of foreign peoples; see ad 20.6.3, p. 139 and TLL IX 2.820.46–84. For *primas* meaning 'highest ranking' see 24.7.1 (p. 203) and 29.4.7 (p. 148). The Huns also had a (dual) kingship. Attila, Bleda, and Rua, their predecessor, are all three called βασιλεὺς by Priscus (*fr.* 2). See in general on Hunnic socio-political hierarchy Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 190–199 and Kim, 2016, 81–89.

*et pugnant nonnumquam lacessitis, sed ineuntes proelia cuneatim variis vocibus sonantibus torvum utque ad pernecitatem sunt leves et repentini, ita subito de industria dispersi rarescunt [iugescunt V] et incomposita acie. cum caede vasta discurrent, nec invadentes vallum nec castra inimica pilantes prae nimia rapiditate cernuntur* This section is primarily devoted to the breathtaking speed of the Huns' cavalry. Seyfarth is the only editor who accepts V's *lacessitis*. It must be a dative, which is quite a normal complement for verbs meaning 'to fight'; see Kühner-Stegmann 1.319. The sentence can be interpreted as: 'they fight sometimes with tribes (or: warriors) whom they have first provoked', which implies that in these cases the initiative belonged to the Huns. The other editors prefer Gelenius' *lacessiti*, which would mean that the Huns sometimes fight, when they have been provoked. However, this poses a problem. Do the belligerent Huns only fight sometimes, when they have been provoked? Why not always? It is probably for this reason that Bentley proposed to delete *non* in *nonnumquam*, which would result in 'they never fight after being provoked', or in other words 'they always take the initiative in fighting'. Richter, 1974, 348–349 comes up with a more rigorous solution: he also removes *non* in *nonnumquam*, next he notes that *lacessiti* is "sinnlos in diesem Kontext" and then concludes: "Hinter †*lacessiti*† verbirgt sich sonach mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit *acie*, <*dispo*>*siti*." This, however, is a further step away from the paradox, while *lacessere* is by no means an unusual verb in the context of fighting.

The Huns entered the battle in a closely packed formation (for *cuneus* see the note ad 25.6.7, p. 208, and for *cuneatim* ad 24.2.14, p. 58 and 27.1.1, p. 4), which implies a considerable level of military organization. The Huns thus did not fight in as disorderly a manner as Amm. seems to insinuate; possibly Amm. did not understand the battle tactics of the Huns, as King, 1987 (1995),

82 suggests. For a picture of a Hunnic cavalry archer see Bóna, 1991, 10. The Huns also fought with swords (see the next section) and, according to Sidon. *carm.* 7.236, with javelins; protection in battle was offered by body armour, helmets and shields. On Hunnic warfare, weaponry and armour, see Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 201–254; on their bow and sword see Bóna, 1991, 167–176; there is an illustration of a bow in Bóna p. 22. During their attack they uttered the usual loud war cries also known from other barbarians; cf. 31.7.11 *barbari vero maiorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis* (p. 134).

Just as the Huns were lightly armed (OLD, s.v. *levis* 4) in order to move swiftly and act without warning (OLD s.v. *repentinus* 1b), they would also suddenly spread on purpose and scatter into small groups. About the adj. *pernix* TLL X 1.1595.5 notes: “saepius ponitur c. colore agilitatis”. The same is true for the noun *pernicitas*. See also ad 29.5.14 (p. 171), where it was suggested that Amm. borrowed *equi/equorum pernicitas* from Tacitus. The Huns moved very quickly, murdering and plundering everywhere, but owing to their speed they were never observed doing this.

V’s *iugescunt* has to be emended. Among the various solutions mentioned in Seyfarth’s apparatus criticus *rarescunt* is the most remarkable; it is an emendation by E. Bickel in *GGA* 180 (1918) 305: the verb “bezeichnet das Lichtwerden des Kampesfront bei Silius XVII. 422”. The verb *rarescere* occurs throughout Latin literature, but not frequently. There are three instances in Seyfarth’s Teubneriana; 22.15.25 and 26.3.1 are the other two. In his bilingual edition Seyfarth renders the passage in these words: “Da sie für schnelle Bewegungen leicht bewaffnet sind und unerwartet auftauchen, können sie sich absichtlich plötzlich auseinanderziehen und ihre Reihen lockern”. That *rarescere* is a military t.t. is illustrated in TLL XI 2.129.51–57. The other conjectures are less ‘technical’. For the extremely rare verb *pillare* see TLL X 1.2141.75–78.

- 2.9 *eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores, quod procul missilibus telis acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine arte mira coagmentatis et distinctis..., comminus ferro sine sui respectu confligunt* One might call them the most energetic warriors: *dixeris* should be interpreted as expressing a possibility, with e.g. ‘if the question were to be posed’ as an imaginary conditional clause; see for the ‘potentialis’ Kühner-Stegmann 1.176–178. The reason for this praise is their outstanding skill both in archery and in man-to-man fighting. See for *coagmentare* ad 22.8.10 (p. 102) and 23.4.14 (p. 78) about the component parts of a Scythian bow and a fire-dart respectively, which suggests that *coagmentatis* has to be taken with *telis*. Arrow heads made of bones are also mentioned in Tac. *Ger.* 46.3 (about the Fenni) *solae in*

*sagittis spes, quas inopia ferri ossibus asperant* and in Paus. 1.21.5 (about the Sarmatae) ὅστεῖνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς δίστοῖς (φοροῦσι). In spite of what Amm. tells us, the Huns also used iron arrowheads; King, 1987 (= 1995), 81–82.

Further explanation of their excellence in archery is unfortunately broken off by a lacuna in V of 13 letters after *distint*, which has been emended to different forms of *distinguere* and *distare*, but none of these emendations is persuasive, let alone convincing. The conclusion ‘non liquet’ is inevitable. It is conceivable that a brief explanation of the composition of the arrow was misunderstood by the scribes and then finally given up in V with a lacuna as consequence. We find the words *sine sui respectu* (‘taking no thought for their own lives’) also in 29.5.38 (p. 198). Cf. also *sine respectu salutis* (14.1.10, 14.2.15, 16.5.17) and *sine respectu periculi* (21.12.20, 22.9.8, 25.3.4). In all these cases a high degree of recklessness is expressed.

Several other sources praise the Huns, especially the kings, for their bowmanship; Olymp. Hist. fr. 19 Ὅτι διαλαμβάνει...περὶ τῶν Οὐννων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥηγῶν αὐτῶν τῆς εὐφυεστάτης τοξείας ([Olympiodorus] discusses...the Huns and the natural talent of their kings for archery”, tr. Blockley); Sidon. *carm.* 2.266–269 *teretes arcus et spicula cordi, / terribiles certaeque manus iaculisque ferendae / mortis fixa fides et non peccante sub ictu / edoctus peccare furor* (“Shapely bows and arrows are their delight, sure and terrible are their hands; firm is their confidence that their missiles will bring death, and their frenzy is trained to do wrongful deeds with blows that never go wrong”, tr. Anderson). Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 221–232 has an elaborate exposé on the Hunnic bows, which were between 140–160 cm in length with a handle or grip like that of the Scythian bow (see 22.8.10, p. 102), and made of wood, bone, horn and sinews. These large composite bows could be handled by the Hunnic horsemen because they were asymmetrical, i.e. the half below the handle was shorter than the half above, which allowed it to be used from horseback. Based on comparison with information of the range of Turkish bows from the eighteenth century, Heather (2006, 156–157) calculated that the effective range of Hunnic bows shot from horseback was perhaps between 150 and 200 meters against opponents without armour and some 75 to 100 meters against an enemy with armour; see also Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 227. These distances gave the Huns an enormous tactical advantage against their opponents.

Apparently, the battle tactics of the Huns were first to harass their enemies with arrows from a distance, then to charge the opponents on horseback and fight hand to hand with swords and lances. They were not good at fighting on foot as Zosimus (4.20.4) confirms; μάχην μὲν σταδίαν οὔτε δυνάμενοι τὸ παράπαν οὔτε εἰδότες ἐπαγαγεῖν...περιελάσσει δὲ καὶ ἐκδρομαῖς καὶ



εὐκαίροις ἀναχωρήσεσιν, ἐκ τῶν ἵππων κατατοξεύοντες, ἄπειρον...εἰργάσαντο φόνον ("They were totally incapable and ignorant of conducting a battle on foot...but by wheeling, charging, retreating in good time and shooting from their horses, they wrought immense slaughter", tr. Ridley).

*hostesque, dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis illigant, ut laqueatis resistentium membris equitandi vel gradiendi adimant facultatem* While their enemies were attending to the injuries inflicted by the swords, or perhaps 'while they were bewaring of injuries', they tied them up with twisted strips of clothes in order to prevent the ensnared limbs of their victims, who tried to offer resistance, to ride their horses or go on feet. Lovers of cowboy films would compare this technique with the use of lassoes, a weapon with which the Romans were not familiar. Sozomen (*HE* 7.26.8) also mentions the lasso: ἀνασχὼν τὴν δεξιὰν ἀκοντίζειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ σχοινίον ἔμελλεν ὡς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐλκύσων ('he [a Hun] raised up his right hand in order to throw a rope at him, for he intended to drag him away towards himself and his fellow countrymen'). The Alans also used the lasso (see below ad § 21) and the Goths seem to have taken it over from the Huns; Olymp. Hist. *fr.* 17; Malalas *Chron.* 14.23; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 239–240. Petschenig, 1892, 689 is, probably rightly, convinced that V's *gravandi* should be corrected to *grassandi* rather than *gradiendi*; see for *grassari* ad 31.5.9 (p. 95).

- 2.10 *nemo apud eos arat nec stivam aliquando contingit. omnes enim sine sedibus fixis absque lare vel lege aut ritu stabili dispalantur semper fugientium similes cum carpentis, in quibus habitant; ubi coniuges taetra illis vestimenta contexunt et coeunt cum maritis et pariunt et ad usque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. nullusque apud eos interrogatus respondere, unde oritur, potest alibi conceptus natusque procul et longius educatus* Amm. now turns to the non-military and private life of the Huns. None of them were engaged in agriculture: this was incompatible with their lifestyle, which was characterized by roaming around like fugitives. As Amm. had already emphasized, they did not live in houses as their fixed abodes within a stable society, and had no use for the protection of the law or the god of their home. Cf. 22.8.42 *nec stivam aliquando nec sementem expertas...eisque caritates et habitacula vilesque supellectiles plaustris impositae sunt corticibus tectis et, cum placuerit, sine obstaculo migrant eodem carpenta, quo libuerit, convolventes* and § 18 below, both about the Alans. There is a remarkable parallel in Amm.'s description of the life of the Saracens: *errant semper per spatia longe lateque distenta sine lare sine sedibus fixis aut legibus...vita est illis sem-*

*per in fuga* (14.4.3–4, p. 82). Iust. 2.2.3–4 has similar information about the Scythians: *Neque enim agrum exercent, nec domus illis ulla aut tectum aut sedes est...per incultas solitudines errare solitis. Uxores liberosque secum in plaustri vehunt, quibus coriis imbrium hiemisque causa tectis pro domibus utuntur*. For Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 13–14 the resemblance was reason to suppose that Amm. borrowed directly from Pompeius Trogus, whose work was epitomized by Justin.

The women were mainly concerned with the birth and education of children and the making of clothes; these activities took place in their habitat, the *carpenta*, ‘wagons’, just as the family home was the habitat of the women in Graeco-Roman culture; Richter, 1974, 357. Amm. does not disclose why the clothes which the women wove were ‘horrible’, but after section 5 of this chapter the reader does not really expect any positive remarks. As is evident from 22.8.42, quoted above, Amm. makes no clear distinction between *plastrum* (for which see ad §18 below), and *carpentum*, both denoting a two-wheeled wagon used to transport heavy materials, as in 17.10.9 (p. 260), 18.2.6, and 23.3.70 (p. 50), as well as for travel. For *iudiciale carpentum* see ad 29.6.7 (p. 225).

*per indutias infidi inconstantes, ad omnem auram incidentis spei novae perquam mobiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes, inconsultorum animalium ritu, quid honestum inhonestumve sit, penitus ignorantes* The ‘physical’ mobility of the Huns was reflected in their morals: they were entirely unpredictable because of their volatility, which made itself felt as soon as a “breeze of new hope” (Rolfé) caused them to leave everything to “the mad impulse of the moment” (id.). This unreliability is in accord with Amm.’s general picture of barbarians (see also ad 31.12.15, p. 217) and agrees with the Graeco-Roman perspective of the alien; see e.g. Chauvot, 1998. Cf. for the transferred sense of *aura* Liv. 29.3.13 (*gente*) *ad omnem auram spei mobili atque infida*. Like ‘thoughtless’ animals the Huns had no inkling of the difference between ‘honourable’ and ‘dishonourable’.

*flexiloqui et obscuri, nullius religionis vel superstitionis reverentia aliquando districti, auri cupidine immensa flagrant, adeo permutabiles et irasci faciles, ut eodem aliquotiens die a sociis nullo irritante saepe desciscant itidemque propitientur nemine leniente* Amm. expands on the Huns’ unreliability with a series of variations on his main theme, which have to make up for the absence of any solid facts. There are only two other instances of *flexiloquus* “expressed in tortuous language” (OLD s.v.): Cic. *Div.* 2.115 and Amm. 18.5.6 (p. 139). Regarding religion the news is also bad: according to Amm., the

Huns did not even have a false religion (*superstitio*), let alone a proper one. See for *superstitio* ad 21.16.18, p. 272, 25.4.17, p. 154, Kahlos, 2007, and Den Boeft, 2008. Although very little is known about Hunnic religion, this is said to be impossible by Matthews 340. It is likely that they had haruspices and diviners (possibly shamans) and practiced scapulimancy, i.e. the reading of bones. Like the Alans (§ 23 below, p. 36) they may have venerated the sword as representation of the Wargod. Moreover, they wore amulets and seem to have worshipped *eidola*; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 267–296.

Fickleness and susceptibility to anger are seen as a lack of self-restraint and a characteristic of barbarians; on anger in Amm., see Seager 34–36; on anger and barbarians, see Sidwell, 2013, 79–130. One could never be sure about one's relations with Huns: would they be the same in the afternoon as they had been during the morning? See for *facilis* with inf. meaning “prone” or “ready” OLD s.v. 8.

- 2.12 *Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus externa praedandi aviditate flagrans immani per rapinas finitimorum grassatum et caedes ad usque Halanos pervenit, veteres Massagetas, qui unde sint vel quas incolant terras, quoniam huc res prolapsa est, consentaneum est demonstrare geographica perplexitate monstrata, quae diu multa luda...et varia, tandem repperit veritatis interna* Apart from the fact that they came from the east, Amm. seems to have no precise idea about the original stamping grounds of the Huns (see ad §1 above, p. 15). For him they may have belonged to *aliique plures obscuri, quorum nec vocabula nobis sunt nota nec mores* who lived beyond the Massagetae, Alani and Sargetae (22.8.38). Modern scholarship locates the home of the Huns in Inner or Central Asia Mongolia, and sizeable parts of western and northern China. This large territory was home to pastoralists (nomads), agriculturalists, hunter-gatherers and urban dwellers. The Huns probably belonged to the Xiongnu people who lived in what is now Mongolia. The Xiongnu are first attested in Chinese records from the Han dynasty (206 BC – 220 AD), and consisted of heterogeneous ethnic groups with different lifestyles, languages and political organizations. The Xiongnu confederation collapsed in the second century AD and the Hunnic nomadic tribes which moved westwards in the fourth century had probably been connected to the Xiongnu, but it is likely that their tribal organization had gone through considerable changes when they reached the frontiers of the Roman Empire by c. 370; Harmatta, 1997; Heather, 2006, 146–149; Kim, 2013, 26–31; De la Vaissière, 2015, 176, 181–182; Kim, 2016, 2–11. Cf. Kelly, 2008, 43–45, who doubts whether the Huns were the descendants of the Xiongnu.

The very brief summary of the Huns' westward march begins with the mention of their readiness for action (*expeditum*), in itself not a negative term, but the action consisted in murder and looting at the cost of their successive neighbours. The westward march, for which, according to De la Vaissière, 2015, 189–190, climatic change was an important reason, finally brought them to the territory of the Alani. This induces the author to compose a geographical survey. The verb *prolabi* sometimes has a clearly negative connotation: Amm.'s report has 'slipped into' a difficult subject, but it is fitting (*consentaneum est*) to use the opportunity to deal with the origin and the territory of the Alani, after having explained the complicated geographical questions. Here we unfortunately get stuck in the fragmentary state of the main manuscript. The author seems to complain about the available information, which demanded a lot of effort and time to reach the core of what was the truth. The term *perplexitas* seems to be an instance of 'abstractum pro concreto' expressing the complicated research of the geographical experts, which finally bore results. See also TLL X 1.1651.2–3. For a detailed comparison of the two digressions in this chapter see Burgersdijk, 2016, 116–118.

Amm. had mentioned the Alani before, in the context of his digression about the Black Sea (22.8.31, p. 125, and 22.8.38, p. 134), and again in the digression on Persia (23.6.61). Unlike the Huns, the Alani were reasonably well known by the Romans and are often referred to in Graeco-Roman sources; Bachrach, 1973, 3 ff. and Alemany, 2000 present an overview and discussion of the sources. In 23.5.16 Amm. had said that they were once known as Massagetae: *Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus*. More precise information about the geographers, consulted by Amm. about the Alani, would have been welcome.

Petschenig, 1892, 689 corrects V's *multa luda* to *multimoda* and then adds *tractans* between *multimoda* and *et varia*. This is at least a practical solution. The verb *tractare* occurs ten times in the *Res Gestae* and the result fits the context. See for substantivized *interna* TLL VII 1.2237.20–30, and cf. 15.5.23 *mirabamur illam sententiam Tullianam ex internis veritatis ipsius promulgatam*.

*abundans aquarum Hister advenarum magnitudine fluenti Sauromatas prae-  
termeat ad usque amnem Tanaim pertinentes, qui Asiam terminat ab Europa*  
Cf. Mart. Cap. 6.662 *Hister fluvius, ortus in Germania de cacumine mon-  
tis Abnovae, sexaginta amnes adsumens, etiam Danuvius vocitatur* and see  
ad 31.4.2 (p. 57). For *aquae advenae* 'tributaries' cf. 15.11.18 *Rhodanus aquis  
advenis locupletior* and 18.7.10 (Euphrates) *nullisque adhuc aquis advenis*

2.13

*adolescens*. Propertius uses *advena* about the Tiber (4.1.8), as does Ovid in *Fasti* 2.68; TLL I 829.31–49. *Fluenti* is a gen. inversus with *magnitudine* ‘with its mighty stream’, as in 31.3.8 *amplitudine fluentorum Histri*; TLL VI 1.949.62–64. The river Tanais is now called Don. Amm. gives the same information in 22.8.27 (p. 120): *Tanain...Asiamque distermians ab Europa*. For the *Sauromatae* or *Sarmatae*, a people of Scythian origin, see the note ad 22.8.29 (p. 121).

*hoc transito in immensum extentas Scythiae solitudines Halani inhabitant ex montium appellatione cognominati paulatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem sui vocabuli traxerunt ut Persae* The abl. abs. *hoc transito* lacks a specific Agens, because anyone crossing the Don from Sarmatia will enter the wide deserts of Scythia (*hoc* refers to the Tanais and not to the Hister as Rolfe n. 1 suggests). The final words of this lemma refer to the contents of 23.6.55 (p. 192), where it is explained that *ad gentilitatem trahere* means ‘to force to adopt their name’. Before providing an ethnographic description of the Alani, Amm. very briefly mentions eight *nationes conterminas*, each with a specific characteristic. An attentive reader will be reminded of 22.8.31 in the large digression about the Black Sea and its coasts and surroundings. Eustathius remarks in his commentary on Dionysius Periegetes that the Alans were named after the Alanos mountains: “Ὅτι Ἀλανὸς ὄρος Σαρματίας, ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλανοὶ ἔοικεν ὀνομάζεσθαι (GGM 2, 271); cf. Ptol. 6.14.11 τὰ Ἀλανὰ ὄρη. Cf. Piot, 2002, 225. However, it may also have been the other way around, namely that the mountain range was named after the Alans.

- 2.14 *inter hos Nervi mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celsis, quos prae-ruptos geluque torpentes aquilones astringunt. post quos Vidini sunt et Geloni, perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hostium cutibus indumenta sibi equisque tegmina conficiunt bellatoriis. Gelonis Agathyrsi collimitant inter-  
stincti colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius fucatis et densioribus notis* These peoples, including the Sarmatae of § 13 and the Melanchlaenae and Anthropophagi of § 15, are also mentioned by Hdt. 4.102 as neighbours of the Scythians who asked for their support in the war with the Persian king Darius: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συν-ελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων. Amm. had probably an indirect knowledge of Herodotus, as Matthews 335 and Fornara, 1992, 422–423 argue; see Vergin, 2013, 268–274 for allusions to Herodotus’ account of Scythia. It is highly unlikely that these peoples were still liv-

ing in the same regions, but they had become part of the ethnographical and literary tradition of this part of the world—largely unknown to the Romans—which is probably the reason why Amm. mentions them. For the Nervii, i.e. Herodotus' Νευροί, see ad 22.8.40 (p. 135) and Feraco, 2011, 232. The Vidini (Βουδῖνοι) are described by Herodotus (4.108–109) as a large and populous nation of people with dark blue eyes and reddish hair (Βουδῖνοι δέ, ἔθνος ἐὸν μέγα καὶ πολλόν, γλαυκόν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστί καὶ πυρρὸν; 4.108); they were nomads. For the Geloni and Agathyrsi, see ad 22.8.31 (p. 125) and Feraco, 2011, 223–224. See for *perquam*, 'exceedingly', ad 20.6.9 (p. 149) and for *ferus* as a typical characterization of barbarians ad § 1 (p. 14) of this chapter. As to the Agathyrsi's tattoos cf. Mela 2.10 *Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt, ut quique maioribus praestant, ita magis aut minus* ("The Agathyrsi tattoo their faces and limbs, each more or less in proportion to the prominence of their ancestors", tr. Romer). Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 4.88 *caeruleo capillo Agathyrsi*. Cf. for *interstinctus*, 'checkered', 19.1.3 *interstinctum lapillis*. De Jonge ad loc. (p. 4) quotes what is probably the most famous instance of the term, Tacitus' description of Tiberius' face in *Ann.* 4.57.2: *ulcerosa facies ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta* ("variegated with plasters", tr. Moore & Jackson). For tattooing in Antiquity see e.g. Jones, 1987.

*post hos Melanchlaenas et Anthropophagos palari accepimus per diversa humanis corporibus vicitantes, quibus ob haec alimenta nefanda desertis finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. ideoque plaga omnis orienti aestivo obiecta, usque dum venit ad Seras, inhabitabilis mansit* For the *Melanchlaenae*, 'blackcloaks' (Hdt. 4.107), see the note ad 22.8.31 (p. 125). The expression *per diversa* should be interpreted in a local sense: they roamed over a wide range of places; see ad 24.7.6 (p. 218). This is the second time that Amm. mentions the Anthropophagi; the first time was in 23.6.66 (pp. 203–204); see Feraco, 2004, 250. Amm. adds a Latin interpretation of the Greek term for readers who cannot believe their ears: yes, these people ate human flesh to stay alive. The verb *victitare* is usually combined with an abl. Small wonder that their neighbours fled from this dangerous tribe. The phrase *longa petiere terrarum* has a clear Lucretian ring. See pp. 91–92 of Bailey's Lucretius edition (Oxford 1947) about "the genitive after neuter plural of adjectives or participles", e.g. *strata viarum*. In the present text it expresses that the neighbours decided to keep far away from them. For *orienti aestivo*, meaning north-east because the sun rises there in the summer, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 6.113 *ab oriente aestivo Pyropum* and 6.57 *Posidonius ab aestivo solis ortu ad hibernum exortum metatus est eam* (sc. *Indiam*). For the Seres see the note ad 23.6.64 (pp. 201–202) and the commentary by Feraco, 2004, 243–246.

- 2.16 *parte alia prope Amazonum sedes Halani sunt orienti acclines, diffusi per populosas gentes et amplas, Asiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad usque Gangen accepi, fluvium intersecantem terras Indorum mareque inundantem australe* The phrase *parte alia* is problematic; it must designate a part of Scythia which contrasts with the deserted northeastern region that Amm. has just mentioned. It may, therefore, well be that part of Scythia, that borders on the Persian empire (*orienti acclines*), possibly the region between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. For the Alani see ad §12 above and §17 below. Here the Alans living to the east of the Tanaïs must be meant. For the Amazons, located by Amm. somewhere north-east of the Black Sea, see ad 22.8.17 (p. 110); add to the literature mentioned there Mayor, 2014, 34–51. The Ganges was mentioned before in 23.6.13 (p. 146), where Amm.’s wording is similar to that in this passage (*ad Gangem extenditur flumen, quod Indorum intersecans terras in pelagus eiectionem australe*), and 23.6.64.
- 2.17 *Hi bipertiti per utramque mundi plagam Halani, quorum gentes varias nunc recensere non refert, licet dirempti spatiis longis per pagos ut Nomades vagantur immensos, aevi tamen progressu ad unum concessere vocabulum et summam omnes Halani cognominantur ob mores et modum efferatum vivendi eandemque armaturam* For *bipertiti* cf. Plin. *Nat.* 5.43 (Homerus) *bipertitos tradit Aethiopas, ad orientem occasumque versos*. The name *Alani* (see for them above, ad §12) is generic for a mélange of various peoples who shared a common Iranian language, customs, weaponry and (in the eyes of the Romans) a savage way of life. The Alans were not an ethnos but a heterogeneous tribal confederation with a common “Aryan” origin and a shared cultural identity; Bachrach, 1973, 19; Alemany, 2000, 1–4. They lived dispersed over the steppes north of the Black Sea, the Caspian and the Aral Seas. With the two parts of the world are meant the parts on either side of the Tanaïs, i.e. west and east, Europe and Asia (in 22.8.42 the *Europaei Halani* are mentioned). Amm. presents the Alans as pastoralists (*Nomades*, the only instance of this term in the *Res Gestae*), who trek with their cattle and horses (§19 below) in search of good grazing grounds. Amm. uses the comfortable formula *non refert*, “it is not of importance” (OLD s.v. 1), also in 23.6.47 concerning a number of islands. See for *summam* as a promise of *brevitas* ad 21.6.1 (p. 74).
- 2.18 *nec enim ulla sunt illis vel tuguria aut versandi vomeris cura, sed carne et copia victitant lactis plaustis supersidentes, quae operimentis curvatis corticum per solitudines conferunt sine fine distentas* Again a topical description of pas-

toralists; cf. 14.4.3 (Saracens, quoted above ad §10, pp. 26–27) and 31.2.10 (Huns). A *plaustrum* or *plostrum* is a two-wheeled cart or wagon used to carry heavy loads; Isid. *orig.* 20.12; cf. Cato *Agr.* 10.2; Var. *R.* 1.20.3. See further ad §10 above. The reference to meat and milk underlines the difference between the Alans and the Graeco-Romans, whose diet consisted predominantly of corn and wine, products of agriculture and hence of sedentary life; see the note ad 22.8.42 (p. 138); Shaw, 1982/1983; Seyfarth, 1968, 208; Guzmán Armario, 2000–2002. About the boundless waste lands which are the natural habitat of the Alani, Amm. used a similar phrasing in 22.8.42 *gentes...Scytharum innumerae, quae porriguntur ad usque terras sine cognito fine distentas* and *residuae omnes palantes per solitudines vastas*. With regard to *conferunt* Meurig-Davies, 1948a, 104 aptly quotes from the same section *caritates et habitacula vilesque supellectiles plaustris impositae sunt corticibus tectis et, cum placuerit, sine obstaculo migrant eodem carpenta, quo libuerit, convolventes*.

*cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis ferino ritu vescuntur absumptisque pabulis velut carpentis civitates impositas vehunt* When they reach grassy plains, the wagons are placed in a circle and they eat after the manner of wild beasts. This is the only instance of *sarracum* or *serracum* “a kind of wagon” (OLD s.v.) in the *Res Gestae*. It is found already in Sis. *hist.* 61: *construunt carros et sarraca crebra disponunt*. For *carpentum* see above ad §10 (p. 27). *Venerint* is an example of the *coni. iterativus*; see Szantyr 624. The word *civitas* is generally used by Amm. in the meaning of *urbs*; see the note ad 28.3.2 (p. 150). When the food is finished, they load what one could call (*velut*) their ‘cities on wheels’ on the wagons to be transported.

*maresque supra cum feminis coeunt et nascuntur in his et educuntur infantes et habitacula sunt haec illis perpetua et, quocumque ierint, illic genuinum existimant larem* Similar descriptions of the wandering life of the Saracens and the Huns can be found in Books 14 and 31 (e.g. *vita est illis semper in fuga*, 14.4.4; *sine sedibus fixis*, 31.2.10). Amm. obviously assumes, that his readers are highly interested in people whose customs are the very opposite of their own way of life, and who must therefore be quite dangerous. This is clearly the case in the present text: if the intruders regard ‘everywhere’ as their ‘native habitat’ (*genuinum larem*), this implies that the traditional inhabitants are in danger of being pushed out. From the 5th century Salvian (*gub.* 7.15) we can deduce that the Alans were polygamous: *Gothorum gens perfida, sed pudica est, Alanorum impudica, sed minus perfida*. The idea probably



goes back to Hdt. 1.216, where the women of the Massagetae were said to be common property: Γυναιῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται.

- 2.19 *armenta prae se agentes cum gregibus pascunt maximeque equini pecoris est eis sollicitior cura* There is only one other passage in the *Res Gestae* in which *armentum* and *grex* are combined: 16.5.17; *armentum* denotes the cattle and *grex* the small stock. Of course horses have a privileged position: they are simply indispensable for the nomadic life.

*ibi campi semper herbescunt intersitis pomiferis locis atque ideo transeuntes quolibet nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent, quod efficit umectum solum et crebri fluminum praetermeantium cursus* What does *ibi* denote? Probably any ideal territory as described in this section, close to rivers with lush grass on the bank, perfect grounds for pasturage, where wild fruit would be more plentiful than in the dryer parts of the Eurasian plains.

- 2.20 *omnis igitur aetas et sexus imbellis circa vehicula ipsa versatur, muniis distringitur mollibus. iuventus vero equitandi usu a prima pueritia coalescens incedere pedibus existimat vile et omnes multiplici disciplina prudentes sunt bellatores. unde etiam Persae, qui sunt originitus Scythae, pugnandi sunt peritissimi* See for *distringere*, “to detain” (OLD s.v. 2), ad 22.8.25 (p. 118). Amm. uses *munia* ‘tasks’, ‘services’ (in the military sphere) in 16.12.41 (p. 252), 18.2.6 and 28.3.2. The earliest attestation of the dat./abl. *muniis* is found in the *Codex Theodosianus*; TLL VIII 1643.59–63. A number of instances in which the adj. *mollis* is used “in deteriorem” or even “contemnendam” partem is mentioned in TLL VIII 1378.13–31. Amm. often uses *coalitus* (e.g. 21.5.2, p. 53) in the sense of ‘fully accustomed to’, the result of *coalescere*.

Women, children and elderly men remained close to the wagons performing domestic tasks, while the adult men fought wars, hunted and probably attended to the cattle, as was usual in pastoralist societies. Horse riding, which they learned at a young age, added to the prestige of the Alanic men, who considered going on foot as contemptible. The Alans waged wars as mounted spearmen, as we know from Arrian who calls them δορατοφόροι (*Tact.* 4.1–3); Bachrach, 1973, 8–9. From stelae, found near the Cimmerian Bosphorus, it appears that these cavalrymen were similar to *cataphracti* holding their spear/lance with two hands; for an image, see Kouznetsov & Lebedynsky, 1997, 27. Amm. uses both *Parthi* and *Persae* to designate the Persians; see ad 23.3.2 (p. 38). That they were of Scythian origin is also the opinion of Curt. 6.2.14: *Scythae qui Parthos condidere*. The adverb *originitus* is a hapax; TLL IX 2.981.80–81.

*Proceri autem Halani paene sunt omnes et pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles* 2.21 The new discourse topic, a brief description of the outward appearance of the Alani and of their activities, is introduced with *autem*, which does not take the first place in a sentence, so that Amm. can immediately begin by mentioning their tall build, which contrasts with the small, hunchbacked Huns whom he found ugly (see above in § 2: *prodigiose deformes*). Amm.'s assertion of the general physical homogeneity of the Alans should be taken with a grain of salt. They were "a confederation of nations" (Matthews 334), which means that not all peoples belonging to the Alans would have looked the same; Bachrach, 1973, 19. Their eyes had a stern expression, but moderately so, which did inspire respect. This meaning of *terribilis* is reminiscent of 26.2.11, where *terribilis* is used to describe Valentinian directly after his maiden speech, when he had been hailed as the new emperor. See the note ad loc. (p. 58) about the scholarly dispute concerning this interpretation. According to Alemany, 2000, 39 *oculorum torvitas* may betray a Mongoloid aspect, but Amm. uses the same expression about the Gauls: *luminum...torvitate terribiles* (15.12.1), the Goths (31.7.11), and even of the Romans (ibid.): *torvitate mutua bellatoribus luminibus se contuebantur obliquis*. The alliteration was noted by Petschenig, 1897, 559.

*et armorum levitate veloces Hunisque per omnia suppare, verum victu mitiores et cultu* Because the Alani were not heavily armed, they could move quickly, just like the Huns, who were *ad pernecitatem...leves* (31.2.8). We know little about the arms of the Alan cavalymen, apart from the fact that they fought with spears or lances (cf. ad § 20 above, p. 34) and that the lasso was one of their weapons, as Flavius Josephus (*BJ* 7.250) and Hegesippus 5.50 report: *laqueos iacere atque hostem innectere, ars Alanis bellandique mos est*; Alemany, 2000, 79–82, 91–92. One of their battle tactics was to feign retreat; Bachrach, 1973, 8–9; Matthews 336.

As is noted ad 21.16.3 (p. 247), Amm. likes the prefix *sub-* in adjectives; OLD s.v. *subpar* suggests as meaning "of almost equal standard". The combination of *victus* and *cultus* occurs in a variety of authors, with i.a. 17 instances in Cicero, e.g. *hominum vita tantum distat a victu et cultu bestiarum* (*Off.* 2.15). Amm. has a predilection for the verb *discurrere* to denote haste and speed; see ad 20.6.2 (p. 137).

*latrocinando et venando ad usque Maeotica stagna et Cimmerium Bosporum itidemque Armenios discurrentes et Mediam* For the *lacus* (or *palus* or *stagnum*) *Maeotis*, see above ad § 1 (p. 15). The Cimmerian Bosporus, the

modern Kerch Strait, is the passage from the Black Sea to the Sea of Asov. For Alan raids into Armenia and Media in the first century A.D., see J. *Bj* 7.247 sqq.; Bachrach, 1973, 6; Alemany, 2000, 90–93.

- 2.22 *utque hominibus quietis et placidis otium est voluptabile, ita illos pericula iuvant et bella* In this respect the Alani are the opposite of the Seres; see ad 23.6.67 (pp. 205–206) for a comparable sentence.

*iudicatur ibi beatus, qui in proelio profunderit animam, senescentes enim et fortuitis mortibus mundo digressos ut degeneres et ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur nec quidquam est, quod elatius iactent, quam homine quolibet occiso proque exuviis gloriosis interfectorum avulsis capitibus detractas pelles pro phaleris iumentis accommodant bellatoriis* As was noted ad 23.6.44 (p. 182), the present text is practically a copy of that about the Parthylaei. See for *profundere animam*, “to breathe one’s last” (OLD s.v. 2b), ad 24.4.28 (p. 143). The *senescentes* are men who are not *senes* yet, but who are ‘growing old’ without having risked their life on the battlefield. They have “fallen away from the standard” (OLD s.v. *degener* 2). There is nothing which they brag about more proudly than when they have killed a man, and by way of (OLD s.v. *pro* 8) glorious spoils they put the skins of decapitated dead warriors as a decoration on their warhorses. Strabo 4.4.5 mentions a similar habit of the Gauls: τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπιόντας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐξάπτειν ἐκ τῶν αὐχένων τῶν ἵππων (“the fact that when they depart from the battle they hang the heads of their enemies from the necks of their horses” tr. Jones); cf. D.S. 5.29.4 (likewise about the Gauls) τῶν δὲ πεσόντων πολεμίων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφαιροῦντες περιάπτουσι τοῖς αὐχέσι τῶν ἵππων (‘they cut off the heads of their fallen enemies and fasten them onto the necks of their horses’). The Geloni also stripped the skins off their enemies; see above § 14; Matthews 335.

- 2.23 *nec templum apud eos visitur aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tecum cerni usquam potest, sed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus eumque ut Martem regionum, quas circumcircant, praesulem verecundius colunt* See for *circumcirca* ‘roundabout’ TLL III 1124.55–78. In lines 79–81 the verb *circumcircare* is explained as “circumcirca pervagari”. The religion of the Alani does not manifest itself in buildings of any type. They put an unsheathed sword in the ground and worship this respectfully as the Wargod, the *praesul* of the regions through which they travel. The original meaning of *praesul* was “qui saliendo praeit” (TLL X 2.947.54), but later the term was used to denote high military and political authorities (TLL X

2.949.28). Ancient lexicographers were not sure about the difference in meaning between *delubrum* and *templum*; see TLL V 1.471.67–72. In his *Differentiae* 1.407 Isidorus offers this solution: *oracula templa sunt ubi oratur, unde et responsa redduntur; delubra autem templa fontes habentia ad purificandos et abluendos fideles*. The last mentioned etymology was current in Antiquity; see Maltby, 1991, 18. Walde-Hofmann, 1972<sup>5</sup>, 338 regard it as linguistically correct, but Ernout-Meillet, 1985, 168 are sceptical.

The Quadi also venerated their swords as gods, as Amm. reports: *educ-tisque mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide* (17.12.21). About peoples in Scythia with the same custom see Hdt. 4.62 ἐπὶ τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ ὄγκου ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἴδρυται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα ('On this sacred pile there is set for each people an ancient sword of iron, and this is their image of Ares'); Mela 2.15 *Mars omnium deus; ei pro simulacris enses et cinctoria* ('sword belts') *dedicant*; Iust. 43.3.3 speaks about spears instead of a sword: *pro diis immortalibus veteres hastas coluere*. To the information provided by Amm. Marius Victorius adds in his *Alethia* (189–193) that the Alans practiced a cult of the dead: *facinus plus inquinat istud, / quod speciem virtutis habet; nam protinus omnes / amplexae gentes scelus hoc sine fine litantes / manibus inferias, uti nunc testantur Alani, pro dis quaeque suis caros habuere parentes* ('this evil deed [the cult of the dead] is the more degrading because it has the appearance of virtue; for, at once, all tribes consecrated themselves to this iniquity, making endless funeral offerings to the spirits of the dead, as now the Alans give testimony to, as each of them venerate their dear ancestors as gods').

*futura miro praesagiunt modo. nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes eas-que cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis praestituto tempore discernentes aperte, quid portenditur, norunt* They gathered the straightest (*rectiores*) willow twigs for their divinatory ritual. It is not quite clear how this rod divination worked. However, comparable forms of predicting the future are referred to by Hdt. 4.67 Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἳ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἰτεῖνῃσι πολλῇσι ᾧδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξιέλίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην ῥάβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω καὶ αὖτις κατὰ μίαν τιθεῖσι. αὕτη μὲν σφι ἡ μαντική πατρῴη ἐστὶ ("There are among the Scythians many diviners, who divine by means of many willow wands as I will show. They bring great bundles of wands, which they lay on the ground and unfasten, and utter their divinations laying the rods down one by one; and while they yet speak they gather up the rods once more and again place them together; this manner of divination is hereditary among them", tr. Godley). For a sim-

2.24

ilar custom among the Germans see Tac. *Germ.* 10.1 *Auspicia sortesque ut qui maxime observant: sortium consuetudo simplex, virgam frugiferae arbori decisam in surculos amputant eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuito spargunt* ("To divination and the lot they pay as much attention as anyone: the method of drawing lots is uniform. A branch is cut from a nut-bearing tree and divided into slips: these are distinguished by certain marks and spread casually and at random over white cloth", tr. Hutton).

- 2.25 *servitus quid sit ignorant omnes generoso semine procreati iudicesque etiam nunc eligunt diuturno bellandi usu spectatos. sed ad reliqua textus propositi revertamur* The economy of pastoral nomads allowed for only a small number of slaves; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 199. Captives and prisoners of war may have been sold, but may also have been ritually adopted into Alanic families and clans; Bachrach, 1973, 21. That may explain why Amm. says, that Alanic society was without slaves. He concludes from this, that all the Alani are 'of noble seed'. For a similar connection cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.457, where *generoso sanguine* is taken up by *liber erit sanguis* in line 469. Matthews 339 thinks that Amm.'s statement might be understood as a reference to a clan system "in which the identity of all members of the clan was defined in terms of kinship with an actual or legendary ancestor".

As is noted ad 20.5.7 (p. 125) and 27.5.6 (pp. 115–116), in a number of passages the term *iudex* denotes a ruler of a barbarian people. *Spectatus* means "of observed merit or worth" (OLD s.v. *spectatus* 2). See ad 30.8.1 (p. 164) about the two senses of *textus*: 'train of events' and 'written text'. The verb *proponere* means "to set up as one's object or intention" (OLD s.v. 11). For the conventional conclusion of this digression see ad 20.3.12 (p. 51).

## CHAPTER 3

### *Introduction*

This chapter describes the stages in which the Huns moved westwards. After defeating the Alans, they joined forces with them and together they invaded the vast territory of the Greuthungian Goths under king Ermenrichus. After stubborn resistance Ermenrichus yielded to the superior power of the Huns and Alans, and committed suicide (§1–2). As his successor Vithimiris had died in a battle against the invaders, his young son Viderichus succeeded him, with the cavalry commanders Alatheus and Safrax as his guardians; they retreated to the left bank of the river Danastrus, the modern Dniestr (§3–4). On the other side of the river was the territory of the Thervingian Goths with their well known king Athanaric, against whom Valens had fought three wars during the years 367–369, described by Ammianus in 27.5. Athanaric sent out two of his commanders to explore the enemy forces. The Huns, however, managed to elude the reconnaissance patrol, and launched a surprise attack directly on Athanaric himself, who barely escaped with his life and fled into a remote mountain range, from where he started building a defensive wall to stop the invaders (§5–8). When Athanaric had shown himself to be unable to feed and protect his own people, the majority of the Thervingians turned their backs on him, and decided to ask permission to settle in the fertile plains of Thrace on the right bank of the Danube, where they would be safe from the threat of the Huns (§8).

*Igitur Huni pervasis Halanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines Tana-itas consuetúdo nominávit* For *pervadere* ‘to force one’s way aggressively into something’ see ad 20.10.2 (p. 238). Heraeus proposed to read *cognominavit* c.c., but a threefold repetition of *con-* or *cog-* seems stylistically even less attractive than an irregular cursus. An easy solution would be the transposition *consuetudo Tanáitas nominávit*, for which cf. 17.8.3 *consuetudo Sálíos appellávit*, but it seems wisest to accept an incidental irregularity. 3.1

It is generally accepted that the Huns (see for them ad 31.2.1 ff.) invaded the territory of the Alans and clashed with them in the Don area around 370; Bachrach, 1973, 26; Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 18–19; Piot, 2002, 224. Jordanes (*Get.* 123–124) has the following fanciful story about the Huns coming to the west: Hunnic hunters looking for game on the farthest edge of Maeotis, saw

a doe unexpectedly appear in their sight and enter the swamp. The animal acted as a guide and the Huns followed and crossed the Maeotic swamp on foot. The land of Scythia opened itself to them and they believed that it had been divinely revealed to them; see Demandt, 2007<sup>2</sup>, 150 n. 128.

The Alani were mentioned in 22.8.31 (p. 125), 38 (where they were called *Massagetae Halani*), 42 (*Europaei*-) and 23.5.16 *Massagetas, quos Alanos nunc appellamus*. A detailed description of this people has been given in the preceding chapter. The Alani Tanaïtae derive their name from the river Tanaïs (Don), the border between Europe and Asia. For the Gothic people of the *Greuthungi*, who lived north of the Black Sea in the vast area between the rivers Dniestr and Dniepr (Heather, 1991, 86–87), see the note ad 27.5.6 (pp. 115–116). They are mentioned again in 31.3.1, 3.5, 4.12 and 5.3.

*interfectisque multis et spoliatis reliquos sibi concordandi fide pacta iunxerunt* The verb *concordare* has the negative connotation of a conspiracy in 28.6.20 *flagitiorum arbitra conscientia cum Romano deinde Palladius concordabat* (“since his conscience was witness to disgraceful acts, Palladius then came to an understanding with Romanus”, tr. Rolfe). It is used in a neutral sense in 16.12.16 *sedata iurgiorum materia vicinae gentes iam concordabant* (“they were on good terms with the neighbouring tribes, with whom they had composed their quarrel”, tr. Hamilton). For *fides* ‘solemn promise’ cf. 27.12.6 *fide non amittendae salutis accepta*. The combination with *pangere* is rare, but cf. Porph. Hor. sat. 1.5.27 (Octavianus and Antonius) *pepigerant fidem confirmatissimam*. The exact opposite of the present phrase is 21.3.4 *rupto concordiae pacto*.

When exactly the Huns allied themselves to the Alans is not certain but it was probably early in the 370s. Maenchen-Helfen, 1973, 19 observes that Alans and Huns “are so often named together, that some kind of cooperation of the two peoples would have to be assumed”, even if we did not have Amm.’s information on the alliance.

*eisque adhibitis confidentius Ermenrichi late patentes et uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicosissimi regis et per multa variaque fortiter facta vicinis nationibus formidati* The comparative *confidentius* has its full force. The joining of the armies of the Huns and the Alans increased their confidence. Together they attacked Ermenrichus (*PLRE I*, Ermanaricus), the earliest attested Greuthungian leader, said to belong to the Amal family. Jordanes calls him Hermanaricus in his (largely fictitious) genealogy of the Gothic kings, and reports that he is the son of Achiulf and father of Hunimundus: *Nam supra dictus Hermanaricus, filius Achiulf, genuit Huni-*

*mundum* (Get. 81). The same author also reports: *multas et bellicosissimas arctoi gentes perdomuit suisque parere legibus fecit. Quem merito nonnulli Alexandro Magno comparavere maiores* (“He subdued many warlike peoples of the north and made them obey his laws, and some of our ancestors have justly compared him to Alexander the Great”, Get. 116, tr. Mierow), and: *omnibus...Scythiae et Germaniae nationibus...imperavit* (Get. 120). Jordanes’ account is clearly exaggerated as Heather (1991, 23–26, 86–89) argues: “the *Getica* starts from Ammianus and adds nothing of value to his account” (p. 25). However that may be, Ermenrichus must have been a powerful Gothic leader who controlled a considerable part of Scythia west of the Don; Wolfram, 1988, 86–89.

It is difficult to understand why Seyfarth has not accepted the emendation *bellicosi sane regis* for V’s *bellicosis sene*, proposed by Petschenig, 1892, 689, in spite of the compelling parallels *bellicosus sane milesque semper et militum ductor* (14.9.1) and *bellicosum sane et castrensis rei peritum* (20.1.2), as well as Blomgren’s observation on p. 103 n. 1 that Amm. nowhere uses a superlative of adjectives in *-osus*. For the almost formulaic combination of *multa* and *varia* see ad 28.1.2 (p. 7) and for *fortiter facta* ‘deeds of valour’ cf. 27.1.4 *nec resistendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam repperit* (pp. 9–10).

*qui vi subitae procellae percussus, quamvis manere fundatus et stabilis diu conatus est* For metaphorical *procella* see ad 29.3.2 (p. 121). The combination *fundatus et stabilis* ‘firmly founded and unwavering’ is an instance of Amm.’s *abundantia sermonis*, and a variation on one of his favourite expressions: *mansit immobilis*, for which see ad 25.3.9 (pp. 74–75). As *subitae* implies, the invasions of the Huns and Alans had not been foreseen by Ermenrichus and his Greuthungi. Nevertheless, they resisted the invaders for a long time (*diu*). The emphasis on their warlike spirit serves to underline the overwhelming power of the Huns.

*impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatius fama magnorum discriminum metum voluntaria morte sedavit* Amm. uses the following present participles in the neuter plural as nouns: *accidentia* (15.2.3; 19.9.4; 19.10.2; 20.4.20; 21.1.10; 23.1.2; 26.2.8; 30.4.22; 30.5.13; 31.6.1), *conducentia* (14.11.13; 18.1.1), *congruentia* (22.1.2), *distantia* (20.2.3), *gignentia* (23.6.56; 23.6.68), *impendentia* (20.8.15; 25.1.9; 25.4.25), *incidentia* (14.5.4; 21.2.3; 22.9.2; 28.4.6; 31.10.19), *nocentia* (18.3.8), *occurentia* (17.12.6; 18.2.7), *placentia* (14.1.2; 21.14.1; 28.4.20), *repugnantia* (21.13.4; 28.4.26), *sequentia* (22.3.10), *urg(u)entia* (21.1.3; 21.6.9; 21.13.4; 22.14.1). Rumour (for which see Quiroga Puertas, 2014 and in general Guastella, 2017) spread far and wide (*vulgatius*) and acerbated



the frightfulness of the threatening events. *Diritas* is originally a religious t.t., see ad 26.10.5 (p. 275). Amm. uses it in a less specific sense of human beings in 22.8.33 *immani diritate terribiles Arichi et Sinchi et Napaei*, of elephants (19.2.3), and of cruel measures 28.1.25 *crudеле praeceptum supergressum omnia diritatis exempla*. For the abl. abs. cf. 15.3.6 *haec augente vulgatus fama*. The comparative *vulgatus* is used to obtain a *cursus planus*. For the end of the sentence cf. the equally high-flown phrase *calcare vivendi cupiditatem voluntaria statuit morte* in 29.5.54 (“he decided by a voluntary death to spurn with his foot the desire to live”, tr. Rolfe) and Cic. *Brut.* 42 (uterque) *conatum...iracundiae suae morte sedavit* (“Both made an end to their plans (conatum) for revenge by a voluntary death”, tr. Hendrickson).

Wolfram, 1988, 115 considers it very likely that Ermenrichus’ suicide “had a ritual character and can be considered the king’s final act”. Jordanes (*Get.* 129–130) has a completely different story according to which the king died, 110 years old, as a result of a family quarrel. The date of his death (c. 374/375) is generally marked as the beginning of the ‘Hunnensturm’ and the ‘Völkerwanderung’. However, Krautschick, 1999, e.g. 65–66 has argued convincingly that the Hunnic attacks on the Greuthungi and the invasions into Gothic territory began already c. 370; see also Krautschick, 2000.

- 3.3 *cuius post obitum rex Vithimiris creatus restitit aliquantis per Halanis, Hunis aliis fretus, quos mercede sociaverat partibus suis. verum post multas, quas pertulit, clades animam effudit in proelio vi superatus armorum* Vithimiris’ death probably occurred in the late summer or autumn of 375; Heather, 2006, 152–152. Vithimiris (*PLRE* I, Vithimiris) is probably the same as Jordanes’ Vinitharius, who was the grandson of Ermenrichus’ brother Vultuulf: *Achiulf autem genuit Ansila et Ediulf, Vultuulf et Hermenerig: Vultuulf vero genuit Valaravans: Valaravans autem genuit Vinitharium* (*Get.* 79). According to Jordanes (*Get.* 246) the Greuthungi were subject to the Huns, but Vinitharius (Vithimiris) was allowed to retain the *insignia* of kingship; *Vinithario tamen...principatus sui insignia retinente*. Nevertheless, the king valiantly fought against the Huns, as is known from Jordanes, but after having ruled for barely a year he was killed in a battle against the Hunnic king Balamber (*Get.* 248–249): *Balamber, rex Hunnorum...super Vinitharium duxit exercitum; diuque certati primo et secundo certamine Vinitharius vincit. Nec valet aliquis commemorare, quanta strage de Hunnorum Venetharius fecit exercitu. Tertio vero proelio subreptionis auxilio ad fluvium nomine Erac, dum utrique ad se venissent, Balamber sagitta missa caput Venetharii saucians interemit* (“Balamber, king of the Huns...led his army against Vinitharius. After a long contest, Vinitharius prevailed in the first and in the second conflict, and

nobody can say how great a slaughter he created in the army of the Huns. But in the third battle, when the two met each other unexpectedly at the river named Erac, Balamber shot an arrow and wounded Vinitharius in the head, so that he died”, tr. Mierow, slightly adapted).

This is the only instance of *aliquantisper* ‘for some time’ in the *Res Gestae*; TLL I 1602.49sq. It is a good example of the phenomenon that words, found in Plautus and Terentius, disappear in the classical period, resurface in archaizing authors like Florus and Gellius, and survive in Late Latin; see ad 24.4.30 (p. 145). *Halani*s must be short for the joined forces of the Alans and the Huns, while the ‘other Huns’ must have been mercenaries hired by king Vithimiris. Also in 31.8.4 we read about a joint action of Alans and Huns. At a later stage the Goths will once again join forces with contingents of Huns and Alans against the Romans: *At Gothi Hunis Halanisque permixti nimium bellicosus et fortibus* (31.16.3). For *partes* ‘the fighting parties’ see ad 25.1.3 (p. 7) and for the Vergilian phrase *animam effundere* see ad 28.1.47 (p. 96).

*cuius parvi filii Viderichi nomine curam susceptam Alatheus tuebatur et Safrax, duces exerciti et firmitate pectorum noti* In 31.4.12 Viderichus (*PLRE* I, Viderichus) is referred to as *Greuthungorum rex*. Amm. is the only source for Viderichus. Jordanes does not know him—he should not be identified, as has been done, with Vandalarius in *Get.* 79, as Wolfram, 1988, 253 has convincingly made clear; the same scholar suggests that Viderichus died at a young age, probably before the Goths crossed the Danube. According to Jordanes it was Hunimund, son of Ermenrichus, who succeeded Vinitharius (Vithimiris): *Et mox defuncto Venethario rexit eos Hunimundus, filius quondam regis potentissimi Hermanarici* (*Get.* 250).

Alatheus (*PLRE* I, Alatheus) and Safrax (*PLRE* I, Saphrax) are always mentioned together in the *Res Gestae*. Their official function is not clear, but they were undoubtedly high cavalry commanders who acted as regents for Viderichus (for *cura* ‘guardianship’ see TLL IV 1466.1sq.): *Viderichus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo et Safrace, quorum arbitrio regebatur* (31.4.12). Like Viderichus both men must have been Greuthungi (so, rightly, Heather, 1991, 144–145 and Colombo, 2007, 245–247), pace inter alios Wolfram, 1988, 115 (cf. 1977 [1978], 229 and 1988, 252), who speaks of “Alatheus and his Alanic ally Safrax”, apparently on account of Safrax’ name. “Der Name Safrac ist nicht germanisch, sondern iranisch (alanisch)” according to Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 253 n. 2 (but Schönfeld, 1911, 197: “Der Name ist unerklärlich”). They fought in the battle of Adrianople; 31.12.12, 17. Jordanes (*Get.* 134) reports that they ruled (together with Fritigern) as if they were kings; *primates eorum et duces, qui regum vice illis praeerant, id est Fritigernus,*

*Alatheus et Safrac*. During the reign of Theodosius the two generals made for and plundered Pannonia; *Alatheus vero et Safrac cum residuis copiis Pannoniam petierunt* (*Get.* 140). Zosimus (4.34.2) has the unlikely information that Alatheus and Safrax threatened the Rhine frontier under Gratian and Theodosius; Paschoud n. 166.

Amm. uses both *exercitus* and *exercitatus* in the sense of 'experienced', cf. 18.5.1 *protector exercitatus et prudens*. The combination of *pectus* and *firmus* goes back to Verg. A. 6.261 *nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo* (according to Norden ad loc. even to Ennius).

*qui, cum tempore arto praeventi abiecissent fiduciam repugnandi, cautius discedentes ad amnem Danastrum pervenerunt inter Histrum et Borysthenen per camporum ampla spatia diffluentem* Suddenly confronted with an emergency, Alatheus and Safrax opted for a tactical withdrawal in the direction of the river Danastrus (Dniestr), also known as Tyras (22.8.41, pp. 137–138). For the *Borysthenes*, the modern Dniepr, see the note ad 22.8.40 (p. 135). For the *Hister* or *Danubius*, see the note ad 31.2.13 (p. 29). On the use of *artus* 'difficult' see TLL II 723.24–45 and De Jonge's long note ad 15.5.36 (pp. 125–126), who interprets *arto* here as the equivalent of *urgenti*. The expression *fiduciam abicere* is found also in 29.6.16 *abiecta pugnandi fiducia* and 30.8.5 *abiecta purgandi se fiducia*. Amm. uses *diffluere* of troops in disorderly flight in 25.3.6, 29.5.26 and 35 and of threadbare clothes in 31.2.5. The natural compound of *fluere* for a river would seem to be *defluere*, and that is what Petschenig, 1892, 689 rightly proposed to read here; more examples in TLL V 1.362.70–85.

- 3.4 *haec ita praeter spem accidisse dóctus Athanarícus, Thervingorum iudex, in quem, ut ante relatum est, ob auxilia missa Procopio dudum Valens commoverat signa* The vague adverb *dudum* 'some time ago' refers to the years 367–369, when Valens led three campaigns against Athanaric (*PLRE* I, Athanaricus), because he had supported the usurper Procopius. They have been described in 27.5. There Athanaric was called *iudex* of the Greuthungi instead of the Thervingi; see ad 27.5.6 (pp. 115–116) for a possible explanation of this apparent contradiction. For the accent cf. 27.5.9 *asserébat Athanarícus*.

This is the first time that the Thervingi are mentioned in the *Res Gestae*. Together with the Greuthungi they seem to have been the most important branch of the Goths. Their domain was west of the Dniestr and north of the Danube; Heather, 1991, 86–87. *Iudex* is used by Amm. in the meaning of judge and official, but in several instances also as ruler of barbarian tribes:

17.12.21, 27.5.6 (pp. 115–116), 27.5.9, 31.2.25; see the notes ad 20.5.7 (pp. 125–126) and 26.10.3 (p. 268). According to Heather, 1991, 97–102 in Gothic society the office of *iudex*, which seems to have been passed on through a single family, is distinguished from that of *rex*. *Reges* were the leaders of the *kuni*, subdivisions of the Thervingi. The *iudex* was superior to all other leaders from the Gothic nobility; apart from being the supreme military leader he also had a priestly function; Faber, 2010, 160–162.

*stare gradu fixo temptabat surrecturus in vires, si ipse quoque lacesseretur ut ceteri* In a speech to the troops Constantius called upon the new Caesar Julian to stand his ground amid the standard-bearers: *fixo gradu consistere inter signiferos ipsos* (15.8.13). Cf. also 16.12.37 *gremio legionum protecti fixerunt integrato proelio gradum* and V. Fl. 7.559–560 *fixerat ille gradus totoque ex agmine solus / stabat*. The *si*-clause is not an *irrealis*, but the oblique version of Athanaric's plan: *surgam in vires, si ipse quoque lacessar*. The expression *surgere in vires* is unique, but may be compared to Sil. 7.591–592 *maiolem surgere in arma / maiolemque dedit cerni Tirynthius* ("the offspring of Hercules seemed to rise higher as he fought and to grow in stature", tr. Duff, adapted) and Stat. *Th.* 5.264 (Lapithae) *impulsis surgunt ad proelia mensis* ("overthrowing their tables they start up to the affray", tr. Mozley).

*castris denique prope Danastris margines a Greuthungorum vallo longius opportune metatis* Henri de Valois was justifiably proud of his emendation *ac Greuthungorum vallem* for V's *agere ut ungoru vallem*: "Inter locos qui in hoc Auctore a nobis restituti sunt, hic merito palmam ferat". Petschenig, however, rightly observed that with Valesius' reading the combination of *prope* and *longius* would be incomprehensible, and went one better with his *a Greuthungorum vallo*. For *vallum* as an equivalent of *castra* (here chosen to avoid repetition) Petschenig compared 22.4.8 *vallo regis Persarum direpto* (p. 47) and 31.15.5 (Gothi) *ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustorum*. Wolfram, 1988, 407 n. 209 rejected Petschenig's conjecture on invalid grounds. For *opportune* 'strategically placed' see ad 27.2.5 *vallo opportune metato* (p. 22). For *longius* 'at a considerable distance' see ad 20.11.6 (pp. 254–255).

3.5

While Alatheus and Safrax retreated to the Danastrus, Athanaric advanced to the Danastrus; which made the river a dividing line between the Thervingi and Greuthungi; Heather, 1991, 84–86. The date of Athanaric's advance is not known, but it is likely to have taken place in 375 (and not in the summer of 376 as Wolfram, 1988, 70 says) since in the late summer

or early autumn of 376 the Thervingi had already reached the Danube and asked the Romans permission to cross; Heather, 2006, 152. Where exactly Athanaric established his camp is also not known. Wolfram, 1988, 70 opts for the western bank, and that makes good sense: the Thervingi had not yet crossed the river as can be concluded from § 6 below where Amm. reports that the Huns crossed the Danastrus in order to attack their main force. See also Krautschick, 1999, 40.

*Munderichum ducem postea limitis per Arabiam cum Lagarimano et optimatibus aliis ad usque vicensimum lapidem misit hostium speculatueros adventum ipse aciem nullo turbante interim struens* Munderichus (PLRE I, Munderichus) is only known from this passage in the *Res Gestae*, as is Lagarimanus (PLRE I, Lagarimanus). Munderichus (wrongly called *dux Greuthungorum* by Chiabò, 1983 and in Seyfarth's index nominum) later made a career in Roman service and became *dux limitis per Arabiam*. In this function he commanded the frontier armies in Arabia; *Not. Dign. Or.* 1.48; 37.1–52; Jones 609 and see for *dux* the notes ad 21.7.1 (p. 95) and 21.16.2 (pp. 245–246). Amm. often refers to later events in the life of his characters. Some of these references are listed ad 20.4.18 (p. 97), to which can be added 26.5.14 (consulship of Neoterius; p. 122), 28.1.27 (prefecture of Tarracius Bassus), 28.1.57 (death of Maximinus), 29.6.15 (reign of Theodosius) and 30.3.7 (death of Macrianus). See further Rosen, 1982, 34 and Matthews 22–23. For barbarian generals in Roman service—the Alamannic king Vadomarius is undoubtedly the best-known example—see Hoffmann, 1978 and Elton, 1996, 272–277. Wolfram, 1988, 86 calls Munderichus “Ammianus Marcellinus’ Gothic source”, but that is no more than a plausible guess. For the use of *optimates* for non-Romans see above, ad 31.2.7 (p. 23), and for *speculatores*, spies or scouts, see ad 21.13.4 (p. 196); Lee, 1993, 171–174 and Crimi, 2012.

- 3.6 *verum longe aliter, quam rebatur, evenit. Huni enim, ut sunt in coniectura sagaces, multitudinem esse longius aliquam suspicati* Cf. *Sal. Jug.* 7.3 *sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit*. The Huns were characterized in 31.2.11 as *perquam mobiles, totum furori incitatissimo tribuentes* (p. 27), but in the given situation they acted shrewdly. For the expression cf. *Iust.* 1.9.14 *Quae res suspecta primo Hostani, viro nobili et in coniectura sagacissimo, fuit*. Of course *coniectura* is not mere guesswork but a reasoned inference from known facts. Presumably the Huns concluded from the small number of troops sent out with Munderichus and Lagarimanus that the main force (*multitudinem*) of the Thervingi must be waiting further to the west, and therefore skirted around them and headed to the Danastrus.

*praetermissis, quos viderant, in quietem tamquam nullo obstante compositis rumpente noctis tenebras luna vado fluminis penetrato id, quod erat potissimum, elegerunt* For *componere* ‘to settle in a position of rest’ (OLD s.v. 4) cf. Var. At. poet. 8.2 *omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete* and Verg. A. 1.249 *nunc placida compositus pace quiescit*. For *tamquam nullo obstante* ‘as if nothing was the matter’ cf. 23.5.14 *flammas suapte natura nullo obstante ad sublimia convolare*. Amm. uses *penetrare* of rivers also in 18.7.10 *ubi tenuis fluuius...facile penetrari poterit ut vadosus* and 21.13.2 *absque difficultate penetrarat Euphraten*. For *potissimum* ‘the best course’ (Hamilton) cf. 19.6.5 *id potissimum...elegimus* and 21.13.7 *id elegit potissimum*.

*et veriti, ne praecursorius index procul agentes absterreat, Athanaricum ipsum ictu petivere veloci* The *procul agentes* are the main force of the Thervingi with their king Athanaric. The attack of the Huns was ‘swift as an arrow’; cf. Isid. orig. 18.8.1 *Sagitta a sagaci ictu, id est veloci ictu, vocata*.

*eumque stupentem ad impetum primum amissis quibusdam suorum coegerunt ad effugia properare montium praeuptorum. qua rei novitate maioreque venturi pavore constrictus a superciliis Gerasi fluminis ad usque Danubium Taifalorum terras praestringens muros altius erigebat* Athanaric was stunned by the first stage of the attack, but evidently pulled himself together and fled. The location of the ‘steep mountains’ is unknown. Maybe it was in the mountainous and wooded region of the *montes Serrorum* where Athanaric had sought refuge in 367 when Valens crossed the Danube (27.5.3, p. 110). 3.7

*Constrictus* is a strong expression implying that a person is in the grip of a certain feeling, in the present case panic, as in 25.8.14 *licet maiore venturi pavore constringerentur*; see ad 20.4.19 (p. 101). For that reason the translations “this unexpected attack” (Rolfe) and “this new situation” (Hamilton) for *qua rei novitate* are too weak. The fact that Athanaric, who had held his own against Valens in the Gothic wars of 367–369, was put to headlong flight by the Huns is better rendered by Sabbah’s “le caractère inouï de l’événement”.

For *supercilia* ‘river banks’ see ad 22.8.8 (p. 100). The Gerasus or Hierasus, possibly the same as Jordanes’ Grisia (*Get.* 113), is identified with the modern river Prut; Talbert 22 D2/E3. In the region between the Prut and the Danube Athanaric organised his defence against the advancing Huns; Krautschick, 1999, 41–42. The information that the wall ran from the Gerasus along the lands of the Taifali to the Danube “makes the geography difficult to visualise”, as Matthews 321 observes. Amm. suggests the construction of large defence

works which, alas, have not been archaeologically attested. Possibly the works had only just been started when the Huns attacked, and therefore left no archaeological traces; Wolfram, 1988, 71 and 407 n. 209. Heather, 2006, 152 suggests that it was the *limes Transalutanius*, an old Roman wall on the river Olt.

The Taifali are first attested in written sources in *Pan.* 11.17.1 composed in 291: *itemque Tervingi pars alia Gothorum adiuncta manu Taifalorum adversum Vandalos Gipedesque concurrunt*. They were nomadic horsemen and their home was north of the Danube, the *Taifalorum terras* mentioned in this passage; Eutr. 8.2.2 mentions that by his time (i.e. 369) the Taifali lived in Dacia: *Daciam Decibalo victo subegit* (sc. Traianus), *provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Taifali, Victoali et Tervingi habent*. For their abode see also Wolfram, 1988, 91–92. Amm. mentions them for the first time in 17.13.19–20 as allies of Rome in 358, but they had probably been allies since the 330s; before that they were hostile to Rome (Zos. 2.31.3). The words *nationis utriusque grassatores* in 31.9.4 imply strictly speaking that the Taifali were a separate nation from the Goths, but the word *utriusque* is a (plausible) conjecture by Valois. Zos. 2.31.3 calls them Σκυθικοῦ γένους and it is equally possible that they were an independent Gothic tribe; Heather, 1991, 96 n. 38. *Not. Dign. Occ.* 42.65 mentions a cavalry unit consisting of Sarmatae and Taifali stationed in Gaul. See Wolfram, 1988, *passim* and Heather, 1991, 108, 124, 136.

*hac lorica diligentia celeri consummata in tuto locandam securitatem suam existimans et salutem* The *lorica* is the wall built by Athanaric. See for this noun ad 24.5.2 (p. 151). Cf. 14.7.4 *ut in tuto iam locata mariti salute*; 28.6.17 *ut securitatem suam in tuto locaret* and see ad 21.4.1 (p. 42). The gerundive *locandam* is best taken as the equivalent of the passive future infinitive: ‘he thought that his safety and security would be guaranteed’.

- 3.8 *dumque efficax opera suscitatur, Huni passibus eum citis urgebant et iam oppresserant adventantes, ni gravati praedarum onere destitissent* For *opera* “de munimento” see TLL IX 2.665.76. With the exception of the present passage and 19.4.2 *ignis materies ceteris est efficacior* in the *Res Gestae* the adj. *efficax* is always used of human beings. For *suscitare* cf. Fron. *Str.* 1.1.10 *Themistocles, exhortans suos ad suscitandos festinanter muros*. For the t.t. *passibus citis* see ad 18.6.17 (p. 198) and 21.10.1 (p. 130). The use of *iam* “de préparation” (Chausserie-Laprée, 1969, 497–517) creates tension. Normally, as here, it is followed by a verb in the imperfect or pluperfect. See the extensive note ad 28.6.12 (pp. 273–274).

The Huns must have crossed the Danastus and invaded the abode of the Thervingi with a much larger force than that which forced Athanaric to take refuge in the mountains, as described in the preceding section. The invasion must have taken place sometime late in 375 or in the first half of 376 since in the late summer/early autumn of 376 the Thervingi were at the Danube, requesting asylum in the Roman Empire. According to Wolfram, 1988, 71 the Huns fell upon the Thervingi at the northern point of the section between the rivers Siret, Prut and Danube. He further suggests that the Huns were on the way home from a raiding party when they encountered Athanaric and his Thervingi; also Krautschick, 1999, 41 argues that the Huns did not make “einen zielgerichteten Angriff auf Athanarichs Machtzentrum, sondern nur...einen Beutezug und vereinzelt Vorstoss über den Dnjestr”.

*Fama tamen late serpente per Gothorum reliquas gentes, quod inusitatum antehac hominum genus modo nieri ut turbo montibus celsis ex abdito sinu coortum* If we accept Amm.’s account of events, it follows that only after the Hunnic attack on Athanaric’s Thervingi the rumour spread among the Goths that the Huns were coming; see for rumours in Amm. above, ad § 2. Presumably with *Gothorum reliquas gentes* other Gothic groups, not the Thervingi, are meant. See in general for the Goths in Amm. Chauvot, 2004.

In view of 17.4.13 *navis amplitudinis antehac inusitatae*; 22.12.7 *cum impen-sarum amplitudine antehac inusitata*; 28.4.13 *magnitudo...antehac inusitata* there seems, pace Petschenig, to be no reason to read *invisitatum* instead of *inusitatum*. The elsewhere unattested form *nierum* was defended by Löfstedt, 1908, 55 as a possible alternative for *nivium*. This seems to be a very poor reason to keep it in the text. Gronovius’ *nivium* is clearly preferable. The gen. *nivium* is best taken as dependent on *turbo*; cf. 24.1.11 *ventorum enim turbo exortus*. The recent (*modo*) appearance of a “hitherto unknown race of men from some remote corner of the earth” (Hamilton) is compared to a whirling snowstorm in the high mountains. For *sinus* see OLD s.v. 9.

*apposita quaeque convellit corrumpit, populi pars maior, quae Athanaricum attenuata necessariorum penuria deseruerat, quaeritabat domicilium remotum ab omni notitia barbarorum* For *apposita* ‘everything around them’ cf. 17.7.2 *nec contigua vel apposita cernebantur*; 20.3.5 *ne proxima quidem et apposita*. This time Blomgren 15 seems to be right in defending the asyndeton *convellit corrumpit*, since the insertion of *et*, proposed by Lindenbrog would spoil the cursus. The meaning of *corrumpere* ‘to destroy’ is rare, but cf. 18.2.9 *suaserat Caesar, ne pacatorum terrae corrumperentur*; TLL IV 1050.18–28. Blomgren also rightly rejects Petschenig’s interpretation of *corrumpit* as



a gloss on *convellit*. Who would explain a verb in a perfectly normal meaning like *convellit* by another verb in a highly unusual sense? For *attenuare* cf. 31.13.7 *Romanos magis attenuatos inedia sitique confectos*.

The Hunnic raids caused the destruction of the Gothic resources and their supply lines, as Wolfram, 1988, 71–72 argues. Since they were threatened by famine and death, and Athanaric was obviously not able to organise the defence against the Huns, the greater part of the Thervingi deserted him and stopped looking on him as their *iudex*; Lenski, 2002, 323. According to Socr. *HE* 4.33.1 there had been a real civil war, in which Athanaric's opponents were led by Fritigern (*PLRE* I, Fritigern): Οἱ πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ βάρβαροι οἱ καλούμενοι Γότθοι ἐμφύλιον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς κινήσαντες πόλεμον εἰς δύο μέρη ἐτμήθησαν, ὧν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἡγείτο Φριτιγέρνης, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου Ἀθανάριχος. Similar information is provided by Soz. *HE* 6.37.6 and section 3 of the *Passio Nicetae* (Delehay, 1912, 210). In this civil war, according to these Christian sources, religious motives played an important role. However, according to Faber, 2014, 131 “(hat es) einen Streit um die Führungsrolle im Stamm, einen ‘gotischen Bürgerkrieg’...nicht gegeben”, and are the alleged religious motives fictitious constructs (cf. ead., p. 143). See furthermore ad 31.4.8 (p. 73) for this topic.

*diuque deliberans, quas eligeret sedes, cogitavit Thraciae receptaculum gemina ratione sibi conveniens, quod et caespitis est feracissimi et amplitudine fluentorum Histri distinguitur ab arvis patentibus iam peregrini fulminibus Martis* For *gemina ratione* ‘for a twofold reason’ see ad 26.10.3 (p. 267). Amm. had earlier written a short digression on the Succy pass in Thrace (21.10.3–4), and a longer one on Thrace as a whole (27.4). In neither of them had he spoken about the fertility of the region. The fact, that for this reason Thrace was so attractive to the Goths, proves that they led a sedentary, not a nomadic life. As regards the protection offered by the broad streams of the Danube, Amm. reminds us in the context of his report on the admission of the Goths inside Thrace (31.4.5, p. 67) that the Danube was by far the most difficult river to cross (*per amnem longe omnium difficillimum*). For the gen. inversus *amplitudine fluentorum Histri* cf. 31.2.13 *magnitudine fluenti*.

The description of the attacks of the Huns as *peregrini fulmina Martis* is a somewhat contrived allusion to Verg. *A.* 6.842–843 *geminos, duo fulmina belli, / Scipiadas*; see Norden’s magisterial note ad loc. It emphasizes the devastating impact of the Hunnic ‘Blitzkrieg’, cf. 14.3.2 *quod si impetrasset, fulminis modo cuncta vastaret* (Sapor). In 31.12.17 the decisive attack of the Gothic cavalry during the battle at Adrianople is compared to a thunderbolt *equitatus...ut fulmen prope montes excelsos excussus*.

*hocque idem residui velut mente cogitavere communi* The *residui* must be the Goths belonging to other tribes than Athanaric's people; cf. *per Gothorum reliquas gentes* earlier in this section.



## CHAPTER 4

### *Introduction*

In this chapter Ammianus deals with one of the most momentous events in the *Res Gestae*, the crossing of the Danube by tens of thousands of Goths, which would lead up to the dramatic conclusion of his work, the disastrous defeat inflicted by the invaders on the Romans at Adrianople two years later. At first the Romans had reacted indifferently to reports about the unrest created by the advance of the Huns in the barbarian regions north of the Danube. Later, when they realized that this turmoil would affect Roman interests, they had allowed themselves to hope that the Gothic refugees would bring financial advantages and would strengthen their own armed forces (§1–4).

For these reasons the emperor Valens, who was preparing for war against the Persians in distant Antioch, gave his permission to the Thervingian Goths under Alavivus and Fritigern to cross the Danube and enter the diocese of Thrace. Regrettably, Ammianus is silent about the precise terms under which the Goths were allowed to settle in the empire, and what promises were made to them. He only states that they would be given land for cultivation. With a mixture of sarcasm and indignation Ammianus reports how hordes of barbarians, destined to bring ruin to the Roman state, were actually helped by Roman officers in the border area to enter the empire. The tragic importance of this epochal event is emphasized in Ammianus' distinctive manner, viz. with a quotation from Vergil and a comparison with ancient history, namely the invasion of Greece by the Persian army under Xerxes. Ratti, 2007 suggested that Ammianus had deliberately modified the epic motif of the hero crossing the river, and in so doing deprived the quasi-heroic feat (?) of the Thervingi of any semblance of heroism, but there are no indications in the text that Ammianus had this epic motif in mind when he wrote this chapter (§5–8).

Once they had arrived in Roman territory, the Goths were treated callously by the Roman commanders Lupicinus and Maximus, who exploited their lack of food by asking sky-high prices and trading dogs for young men. Ammianus puts the blame for the rapidly deteriorating relations between the Goths and the Roman authorities squarely on the shoulders of the latter (§9–11).

When the leaders of the Greuthungian Goths, Safrax and Alatheus, also asked for their people to be admitted within the borders of the empire, the emperor refused. This induced their former king Athanaric to flee to the distant region of Caucalanda (§ 12–13). The last two sections of chapter four should actually be a part of the following chapter, since the opening words *Per hos dies interea* mark the transition to a new subject, while *At vero Thervingi* in chapter five contrasts the reception of the Thervingi with the refusal to admit the Greuthungi as reported in chapter four.

- 4.1 *Itaque duce Alavivo ripas occupavere Danubii missisque oratoribus ad Valentem suscipi se humili prece poscebant et quiete victuros se pollicentes et daturos, si res flagitasset, auxilia* The subject of *occupavere* are the Goths who had left Athanaric together with the *residui* mentioned in the preceding sentence. Amm. is the only source for Alavivus (*PLRE* I, Alavivus), who is mentioned here for the first time (he is referred to again in 31.4.8 and 31.5.5). Wolfram, 1988, 33 suggests that he may have been the father of Alaric (*PLRE* II, Alaricus 1); “outright speculation”, according to Kulikowski, 2007, 128–129, “a theory based on nothing more than the alliteration of their names”. Note that in the present text only Alavivus is mentioned, whereas in § 8 he and Fritigern are coupled (*et primus cum Alavivo suscipitur Fritigernus*). His name is restored from V’s *vivo* by Lindenbrog on the basis of this sentence. It is obvious that they acted as leaders of the Thervingi instead of Athanaric, who had been deserted by the majority of his people (31.3.8).

The expression *ripas* or *marginēs occupare* refers elsewhere either to defensive measures taken to prevent enemies from crossing, as in Tac. *Hist.* 2.11.2 *Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas praemissus* and 25.6.12 *adiciens hostiles manus hinc inde marginēs superfusi fluminis occupasse*, or to soldiers trying to establish a bridgehead on the other side of a river, as in 17.13.15 *se commisere gurgitibus...ripas ulteriores occupare posse sperantes* and 25.6.14 *ripas occupavere contrarias*. In the present situation the meaning can only be that the Goths stayed on the left bank of the Danube and sent their envoys from there to Valens in Antioch, where the emperor normally resided; cf. Barnes 253. Zos. 4.20.5 inverts the order of events: the Goths abandoned their lands to the Huns (ὥστε αὐτοὶ...φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ὄχθην διαβῆναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες ἰκετεύειν (cf. *humili prece*) δεχθῆναι παρὰ βασιλέως (‘they themselves turned to flight and crossed to the other side of the Danube. Stretching their hands towards heaven, they begged to be admitted by the emperor’). Paschoud n. 143 *inter alia* points to Eun. *fr.* 42 and 43 Müller (= 42 and 45.3 Blockley), which “conservent une part importante du texte que Zosime résume ici”. However, Eun. *fr.* 42

makes clear that Zosimus had not fully understood his source, for Eunapius' version corresponds not with his, but with that of Amm., in that the Goths at the time (for the date see below, p. 68) had not yet crossed the Danube: συνήλθον ἐς <τὸν Ἰστρον οἱ ἐς> τὸ μάχιμον ἀκμάζοντες ἄνδρες καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπιστάντες χεῖράς τε ὥρεγον πόρρωθεν μετὰ ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ βοῆς καὶ προέτεινον ἱκετηρίας, ἐπιτραπῆναι τὴν διάβασιν παρακαλοῦντες ("the males who were especially fit for war gathered at the Danube and, standing on the bank, stretched out their hands from afar with cries and lamentations, begging for pity and asking to be allowed to cross", tr. Blockley). Socr. *HE* 4.34.1 (εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν καταφεύγουσιν) and Soz. *HE* 6.37.5 (τοὺς δὲ [the Goths] διωκομένους τὸν ποταμὸν περαιωθῆναι, καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ὄρους διαβάντας πρέσβεις πέμψαι πρὸς βασιλέα) agree with Zosimus. In 4.20.5 Zosimus does not say that the Goths were guilty of violating a treaty; contrast 4.11.4, where he speaks about the terms of the peace treaty between Valens and Athanaric in February or March 370 (for the date see ad 27.5.9, pp. 123–124): βαρβάρους τε ἀπέγνωστο μὴ περαιούσθαι μηδὲ ἔλως ποτὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβάνειν ὁρίοις ("the barbarians were forbidden to make crossings and ever to set foot on Roman territory at all", cf. Lenski, 2002, 135, whose translation is borrowed).

Both Zosimus and Eunapius report that the Goths promised military assistance. Eun. *fr.* 42 προσθήκην τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξειν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ("promising that they would provide reinforcements for their auxiliary forces", tr. Blockley, adapted) and Zos. 4.20.5 ὑπισχνεῖσθαι τε πληρώσειν ἔργον αὐτῷ συμμάχων πιστῶν καὶ βεβαίων ('with the promise that they would act towards him as faithful and reliable allies'). Soz. *HE* 6.37.5 concurs with them (συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι τοῦ λοιποῦ σφᾶς ὑπισχνουμένους); according to Socr. *HE* 4.34.1 the Goths offered their submission and their willingness to do whatever the emperor commanded (δουλεύειν τῷ βασιλεῖ συντιθέμενοι καὶ τοῦτο πράττειν, ὅπερ ἂν ὁ Ῥωμαίων προστάξειεν βασιλεύς). From 30.2.6 we know that Valens had made use of Scythian, i.e. Gothic, auxiliaries before. Constantius, Julian and the usurper Procopius had done the same; 20.8.1 (p. 181), 23.2.7 (p. 31), 27.4.1 (pp. 78–79).

The condition *si res flagitasset* in the promise as expressed by Amm. *datturos, si res flagitasset, auxilia* (in which the pluperfect subjunctive *flagitasset* represents a fut. exactum in oratio recta: *si res flagitaverit, dabimus auxilia*) must be taken to mean 'if necessary in the eyes of the emperor'.

Since Valens resided in Antioch, it must have taken some time before the *oratores* reached him (see for *oratores* ad 27.12.9, p. 282; according to Soz. *HE* 6.37.5–6 bishop Ulfila participated in this embassy). This was in 376, as can be inferred from Oros. *hist.* 7.33.9 *tertio decimo...anno imperii*

*Valentis...radix illa miseriarum nostrarum copiosissimas simul frutices germinavit* ('In the thirteenth year of the reign of Valens...that root of our miseries produced an abundant number of buds, all at the same time'; cf. 7.33.13); cf. *Consul. Constant. a. 376 Valente Aug. V et Valentiniano iunior Aug. His cons. victi et expulsi sunt Gothi a gente Unorum et suscepti sunt in Romania pro misericordia iussione Aug. Valentis*. Valens' presence in Antioch on 29–30 May 376 is attested by *Cod. Theod.* 1.28.3 and 6.4.24. Meanwhile the Roman authorities on the Danube kept the Goths dangling: οἱ δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπιτεταγμένοι 'Ρωμαίων οὐδὲν ἔφασαν πράξειν ἄνευ βασιλέως γνώμης ('The Romans in charge of the bank said that they could do nothing without the consent of the Emperor', *Eun. fr.* 42, tr. Blockley). Understandably, some Goths did not want to wait that long: Πρὶν δὲ τὴν διάβασιν ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπιτραπῆναι, Σκυθῶν οἱ τολμηρότατοι καὶ αὐθάδεις βιάσασθαι τὸν πόρον ἔγνωσαν, καὶ βιαζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν ('Before the Emperor had given permission for the crossing, the boldest and most daring of the Scythians planned to force an entrance, and were cut down as they attempted to do so', tr. Blockley).

There is a remarkable parallel between the present situation and 19.11, where it is said that the Sarmatian Limigantes had left their allotted dwelling places, and were wandering along the left bank of the Danube: *regiones confines limitibus occupasse vagarique licentius genuino more, ni pellerentur, omnia turbaturos* (§1). When Constantius calls them to book, they ask for permission to cross the river and to settle in Roman territory: (§6) *parati...intra spatia orbis Romani, si id placuerit, terras suscipere longe discretas, ut diuturno otio involuti et Quietem colentes tamquam salutarem deam tributarium onera subirent et nomen* ('If he pleased they were ready to move to some distant region within the Roman world, where they could be wrapped in lasting peace and devote themselves to the worship of the saving goddess of Quiet with the obligations and status of a tributary people', tr. Hamilton). The outcome is dramatic. Once admitted on the south bank of the Danube, the Limigantes tried to kill the emperor, who barely escaped with his life. The Roman army furiously avenged this outrage: *sine parsimonia vivos conculcans et semineces et peremptos et, antequam exsatiaret caedibus barbaricis manus, acervi constipati sunt mortuorum* (§14). The parallels are clear, but both the warning and the lesson contained in this incident went unheeded.

- 4.2 *dum aguntur haec in externis, novos maioresque solitis casus versare gentes arctas rumores terribiles diffuderunt* Amm. switches from the digressions on the Huns and the Alans, and the exodus of the Goths from their homelands, to the reaction to these events within the Roman Empire. The expres-

sion *in externis* (locis) is used with the same meaning in Cic. *Fam.* 4.7.4 *equidem, etiam si oppetenda mors esset, domi atque in patria mallem quam in externis atque alienis locis*. For the abl. comparationis *solito* see Fesser, 1932, 23 and Szantyr 108. The plural *solitis* in this meaning is rare: 19.10.1 *maris casus asperiores solitis*, 27.10.5 *expeditio solitis gravior*. It is not easy to pinpoint the meaning of *versare* here. In connection with *fortuna* or *casus* it has the connotation of ‘mutability’, as in the phrase *fortunarum versabiles casus* (31.10.7), but in the present context the meaning is rather “to stir” (OLD s.v. 3) or even ‘to play havoc with’, which can be used literally, as in Lucr. 6.114–115 *aut ubi suspensam vestem... / verberibus venti versant* or figuratively as here and in Ov. *Am.* 1.2.8 *et possessa ferus pectora versat Amor*. For *arctous* see ad 30.4.1 (p. 60).

*per omne, quidquid ad Pontum a Marcomannis praetenditur Quadis, multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum vi subita sedibus pulsam circa flumen Histrum vagari cum caritatibus suis disseminantes* The whole sentence is governed by *disseminantes* (*rumores*), for which cf. 29.6.6 *Cuius rei tam atrocis disseminatus rumor*. This seems to have been missed by Rolfe, who connects *disseminantes* with *multitudinem* and translates “in scattered bands”. For *praetendi* “to extend in front” (OLD s.v. 2b) cf. 22.15.1 (Egypt) *Catadupos rubrumque pelagus et Scenitas praetenditur Arabas*. It is necessary to add *et* before *Quadis* in order to obtain a regular cursus. *Qüádis* is trisyllabic; cf. 26.4.5 *Pannónias et Qüádi* and 30.5.11 *opportüne Qüádos*; Harmon 227. For *abditus* ‘remote’ see ad 26.6.4 (p. 134) and for the abstractum pro concreto *caritates*, ‘loved ones’, ad 28.1.3 (p. 9).

For the *Pontus* (*Euxinus*) see ad 22.8.1 (p. 92). The Marcomanni had their home territory in Bohemia, the Quadi in the regions of southern Moravia, lower Austria north of the Danube, southern Slovakia, and part of Hungary. Amm. had informed his readers in 29.6, 30.5 and 30.6 about the activities of the Quadi during the reigns of the Pannonian brothers, but “auffälligerweise vernehmen wir aus jener Zeit von den Markomannen gar nichts” (Schmidt, 1938<sup>2</sup>, 184). Apart from the present text the Marcomanni are mentioned by Amm. in 22.5.5 and 29.6.1, in passages which both deal with the time of Marcus Aurelius. As is noted ad 21.8.2 (p. 109), Amm. calls the Danube either *Hister* (18 times) or *Danubius* (8 times), without difference in meaning (both names are found in one and the same section in 17.13.4, p. 332); cf. also the note ad 31.2.13 (p. 29).

*quae res aspernanter a nostris inter initia ipsa accepta est hanc ob causam, quod illis tractibus non nisi peracta aut sopita audiri procul agentibus con-*



*sueverant bella* The rare adverb *aspernanter* is a hapax in Amm. As TLL II 826.24–36 shows, it is found only in Late Latin, as a rule in combination with *accipere* in the meaning ‘to disregard’; Van Waarden, 2010, 165. Surprisingly, the only parallels for *inter initia ipsa* ‘in the very beginning’ (Rolfe) are Claud. Don. Aen. 1.8 and 2.54. *Illis tractibus* can only be an abl. loci. Since Amm., the only author who uses the expression, elsewhere writes *in illis tractibus* (22.15.28, 22.16.14, 27.5.6), the preposition should be added here too. The word order in the *quod*-clause is complicated even for Amm., because (*in*) *illis tractibus* qualifies *bella* while *procul agentibus* refers to *a nostris*: ‘because wars in those parts are usually only heard of by our people, who live far away, after they have been ended or died down.’ Seyfarth seems to interpret *procul agentibus* as an abl. loci and translates wrongly: “weil man es in diesen Gebieten schon gewohnt ist, nichts anderes als Nachrichten über Kriege zu hören, die bei weit entfernten Völkern geführt oder beigelegt worden sind.” *Sopita* may well be an echo of Lucretius’ magnificent lines *effice ut interea fera moenera militai / per maria ac terras omnis sopita quiescant* (1.29–30).

- 4.4 *verum pubescente fide gestorum, cui robur adventus gentilium addiderat legatorum precibus et obtestatione petentium citra flumen suscipi plebem extorrem* For *pubescere* ‘to become stronger’ cf. 21.13.14 *succrescentis rabiem belli, antequam pubescat validius...oppressuri*; TLL X 2.2439.29–46. V reads *pubescenter adfide*, about which Petschenig, 1892, 689 remarks “*rad* ist aber sicher aus ursprünglichem *rap*<*ide*> *fide* entstanden”. However, this is far from certain, since Amm. always uses the adverb *raptim*, as Novák, 1896, 81 observed. EA’s *pubescente iam*, in which *iam* may be explained by the following relative clause ‘to which the arrival of delegates had added strength’, is attractive. *Fides* has the meaning ‘reliability’, ‘when the reliability of (the reports on) what had happened became stronger’, and so had to be taken seriously. For this meaning cf. 28.1.14 *indiciorum fide discussa* (p. 34). *Gentilium* refers to *multitudinem barbaram* in § 2. *Precibus et obtestatione* is mentioned as an instance of Amm.’s *abundantia sermonis* by Hagendahl, 1924, 172; cf. Liv. 8.35.1 *ad preces et obtestationem versus* and 31.9.4 (ni) *obtestatus* (used passively) *prece impensa superstitibus pepercisset*. On the eve of the battle at Adrianople a Christian priest, sent by Fritigern, made the same demand one last time (31.12.8, p. 205): *eiusdem ductoris obtulit scripta petentis propalam, ut sibi suisque, quos extorres patriis laribus rapidi ferarum gentium exegere discursus, habitanda Thracia sola cum pecore omni concederetur et frugibus* (“he presented a letter from his commander, asking openly that he and his people, who had been driven from their homes by the migrations

of wild savages, should be allowed to settle on Thracian soil with all its corn and cattle”, tr. Hamilton, adapted).

*negotium laetitiae fuit potiusquam timori eruditibus adulatoribus in maius fortunam principis extollentibus, quae ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia trahens ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum suis et alienigenis viribus invictum haberet exercitum* There is a note on the colourless word *negotium* in the sense of *res* ad 21.6.8 (p. 91). For the use of the predicative dative (dat. finalis) *laetitiae* and *timori* see Pinkster I 778–782. As a rule this is combined with another constituent in the dative, here *adulatoribus*, which is best interpreted as a dat. iudicantis, ‘in the eyes of’. See Heather, 1991, 134 for the suggestion (deemed likely by Lenski, 2002, 318 n. 329) that Amm. with *eruditibus adulatoribus* alludes to Themistius. As Rosen, 1992, 87 observes, in his struggle with the Goths in 367–370 Valens was not yet influenced by *adulationum perniciosus illecebris* (27.5.8). Amm. uses *eruditus* normally in a positive sense, but cf. 15.8.2 about Constantius’ courtiers *in assentationem nimiam eruditi* and see ad 28.1.33 (p. 72). *Extollere in maius* denotes excessive praise; see ad 28.1.55 (p. 109). For *fortuna* see ad 21.5.9 (p. 65), 25.4.14 (pp. 138–139), 25.9.7 (p. 294), and 31.1.1 (pp. 1–2). The passage is reminiscent, just like § 1, of 19.11, where Amm. reports that Constantius happily allowed the Limigantes to cross the Danube: § 7 *aviditate plus habendi incensus, quam adulatorum cohors augebat id sine modo strepentium, quod externis sopitis et ubique pace composita proletarios lucrabitur plures et tirocinia cogere poterit validissima; aurum quippe gratanter provinciales corporibus dabunt, quae spes rem Romanam aliquotiens aggravavit*. See De Jonge’s commentary on pp. 220–222.

Petschenig, 1897, 560 noted the fourfold alliteration in *terris tot tirocinia trahens*, which may serve to parody the exalted style of the flatterers. On p. 556 Petschenig acutely observes that “nicht selten eines dieser Wörter eigens zu dem Zwecke gewählt worden sein muss, um die Alliteration zu erzielen”, which helps to explain the choice of the forceful verb *trahere*.

Eun. fr. 42 does not speak of *adulatores* among the counsellors of Valens when the matter was brought before the emperor. He does say, however, that there was a thorough debate (πολλῆς δὲ ἀντιλογίας γενομένης), that many pros and cons were discussed in the imperial council (καὶ πολλῶν ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα γνώμων ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ συλλόγῳ ῥηθειςῶν) and that one of the arguments which the emperor judged to be decisive was that he could increase the number of his soldiers (ὡς μεγάλη προσθήκη τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν αὐξήσων). For the abstractum pro concreto *tirocinia* see the note ad 20.8.1 (pp. 179–180), in which, apart from citizen volunteers, the following categories of recruits

are listed: citizen conscripts, volunteering barbarians, *dediticii*, *laeti* (see for the latter categories ad 20.8.13, pp. 202–204) and contingents furnished as a result of treaties by barbarian tribes in alliance with the empire and serving under their own chiefs. For recruitment in the Later Empire see e.g. Jones 614–623; Brandt, 1988, 69–78; Southern & Dixon, 1996, 67–75; Elton, 1996, 128–154; Nicasie, 1998, 83–96; Le Bohec, 2006, 55–66 and Whitby, 2015. In recent years the discussion about this subject has received a new impulse from Zuckerman, 1998, 80–103, who argued that the system underwent radical changes in the 370s by laws of Valens; see for this the next note.

Szantyr 449 mentions “der einerseits altertümliche, andererseits vulgäre Character” of the negation *nec* in *nec opinans*, for which cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.18 *di ipsi immortales praesidium improvisum nec opinantibus nobis obtulerunt*. Kellerbauer, 1871, 24–25 correctly observed “Der Sprachgebrauch A. verlangt die Aenderung von *collatis* in *collectis*—vergl. 16,12,1. 20,8,8. 29,5,25. 31.10.5”. The two forms are paleographically almost indistinguishable.

*et pro militari supplemento, quod provinciatim annuum pendebatur, thesauris accederet auri cumulus magnus. hacque spe mittuntur diversi, qui cum vehiculis plebem transferant truculentam* The adverb *provinciatim* is found only here and in Suet. *Aug.* 49.1 *Ex militaribus copiis legiones et auxilia provinciatim distribuit*; TLL X 2.2346.1–3. Cf. for the meaning 21.6.6 *indictis per provincias tirociniis*. Amm.’s predilection for adverbs in *-im* is discussed by De Jonge ad 15.5.24 (p. 109), 16.2.6 (p. 16) and 17.4.7 (p. 82). For other historians see Vretska ad Sal. *Cat.* 4.2. There is a note on *cumulus* ‘large quantity’ ad 28.41 (p. 168). For the different shades of meaning of *diversus* see ad 21.4.3 (p. 44). The prepositional phrase *cum vehiculis* goes of course with *plebem*, the people with their wagons, for which cf. 31.7.5. One can only guess at the number of *vehicula* the Goths brought with them. According to Zos. 4.25.3 the Romans in c. 380 captured in Thrace 4000 wagons: ἀμάξας μὲν εἶλον τετρακισχίλιας. Brodka, 2009a, 271 compares Malchus *fr.* 20, p. 448 Blockley, about the time of Theoderic. On the basis of the number of wagons mentioned there, some 2,000 (ἀμάξας αὐτῶν...οὐσας ὡς δισχιλίας) for 10,000 Goths, he argues: “Ein solcher Vergleich würde etwa 4000–5000 Wagen bei Adrianople ergeben”. For *truculentus* see ad 28.1.20 (p. 47).

Amm. refers here to the so-called recruit money (χρυσὸς τῶν τειρώνων; the current Latin term, ‘aurum tironicum’, does not occur in the ancient texts; cf. Delmaire, 1998, 322 n. 25). This was a tax in gold which was levied as a substitution for the supply of *corpora*, real flesh-and-blood recruits (cf. *aurum quippe gratanter provinciales corporibus dabunt* in 19.11.7, quoted ear-

lier in this section, p. 59, and see below). In *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.7, a constitution about the *tironum praebitio*, Valens exposes two vices of the recruiting system as especially intolerable, one of which has to do with this recruit money: *inter reliqua vitia haec duo vel maxime intolerabilia iudicamus, quod aurum saepe pro corporibus inmane deprecatur atque advenarum coemptio iuniorum insolentius quam convenit aestimatur* (“among other vices, these two we deem especially intolerable, namely, that often the amount of gold which is demanded instead of men is enormous, and that the purchase price of young foreigners is estimated more exorbitantly than is fitting”, tr. Pharr, adapted). A passage of the anonymous author *de rebus bellicis* confirms, that at the time of Valens the levying of recruits was a source of corruption (assuming that the emperors to whom the treatise was addressed were Valentinian and Valens; cf. e.g. Cameron, 1979 and Matthews 304): *tironum comparatio, equorum vel frumenti coemptio...sollemnia lucra sunt et votiva direptio* (“the buying of recruits, the purchase of horses and grain..., all these are regular sources of profit and are the pillage which is longed for”, Anon. *de mach. bell.* 4.4, tr. Thompson, adapted).

*Cod. Theod.* 7.13.7, “the longest constitution on recruitment in the Theodosian Code” (Lenski, 2002, 312), was issued by Valens in Antioch on 2 June 375 (so, rightly, with the mss., Schmidt-Hofner, 2008a, 527 against Pergami, 1993, 644, who doubts the authorship of Valens and wants to read *propositum* instead of *datum* in the subscription, arguing that Valentinian, in military matters more talented than his brother, must have issued the law). *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.7 is but one of the laws which testify to Valens’ (and Valentinian’s) concern regarding recruitment; see Lenski, 2002, 307–312 and Lenski, 2004. Of these *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.2, issued on 31 January 370, is also concerned with the ‘aurum tironicum’, for it distinguishes between two kinds of provinces, one in which flesh-and-blood recruits are solicited (*tironum corpora per eas provincias, a quibus corpora flagitantur*) and another in which money instead of men is requested (*in quibus pretia postulantur*).

By issuing *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.7 Valens intended to reform the abuses mentioned above. He stipulated that some restraints should be imposed on the excessive amount of the *aurum tironicum*: (Such is the regulation when *corpora* are demanded,) *sin vero aurum fuerit pro tironibus inferendum, unumquemque pro modo capitationis suae debitum redhibere oportet*, “but when gold is to be paid instead of recruits, each person shall pay the sum due in proportion to his (estate’s) poll-tax assessment”, tr. Pharr. And he laid down the price which should be paid to the *temonarius*, the “collector of the commutation for recruits” (Lewis and Short s.v.; cf. Del Chicca, 2013 for an extensive discussion of this term in its various contexts): *et solidorum numerum,*

*qui temonario inferendus est, designamus*; the price was set at thirty *solidi* plus six *solidi* for clothing and expenses: *ut integri pretii modus in triginta tantummodo et six solidis colligatur...sex tironi gratia vestis ac sumptuum praebiturus* (“that the amount of the entire price shall total only thirty-six *solidi*...of which he shall supply six *solidi* for clothing and expenses to the recruit”, tr. Pharr, adapted). A detailed discussion of Valens’ proposal with its textual problems and often obscure sentences is outside the scope of this commentary (see e.g. Delmaire, 1989, 324–327; Giglio, 1990, 87–90; Lenski, 2002, 312–319 and the literature cited below), but one aspect ought to be examined here, because it is directly relevant to the interpretation of the text of Amm.

Opposing the view of among others Delmaire (1989, 325), Zuckerman, 1998, 91 observes: “Modern authorities believe that the state pursued recruiting and *adaeratio* [i.e. “*substitutio pretii in vicem rei erogandae*”, TLL I 562.20] alternately, the practice going back to the days of Diocletian. This was, however, not the view of Ammianus Marcellinus and Socrates who present the *adaeratio* as Valens’ innovation”. Carrié, 2004 rejected Zuckerman’s point of view, which, as he also argued, was not new (“la théorie de Mommsen...Constantin Zuckerman vient, sans le dire explicitement, de la reposer”, p. 371), Schmidt-Hofner, 2008b, 353 with n. 11 accepted it. We restrict ourselves here to what Amm. and Socrates say (see Carrié for the other, mainly papyrological evidence, which, unfortunately, often cannot be dated exactly).

In the relevant passage of Socrates (*HE* 4.34.5), the author speaks of *adaeratio* (ἐξηργύριση), and, although he does not explicitly state that Valens was the first Roman emperor who demanded money instead of men, this pregnant interpretation of his words cannot be ruled out: τὸν δὲ συντελούμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν κατὰ κώμας στρατιώτην ἐξηργύρισην, ὀγδοήκοντα χρυσίνους ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου στρατιώτου τοὺς συντελεστάς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι κελεύσας (“[Valens] put a pecuniary value on the militia which the inhabitants of the provinces, village by village, had been accustomed to furnish, ordering the collectors of his tribute to demand eighty pieces of gold for every soldier”, tr. Zenos; we leave the number of eighty *solidi* instead of the thirty of *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.7 aside). However, without further support for this interpretation it remains at best a possibility. The same holds good for the parallel passage of Sozomen (*HE* 6.37.16): χρυσίον εἰσεπράττετο (Carrié, 2004 does not examine these texts). What about Amm., who twice refers to the recruit money? Does he, as Zuckerman argues, “present the *adaeratio* as Valens’ innovation”?

Before we examine the present text, it is necessary to look again at 19.11.6–7 (partly cited already), where Amm. refers to the ‘aurum tironicum’ for the

first time. We hear there that Constantius, on campaign along the Danube in 359, was confronted with a situation similar to that of Valens in 376: barbarians (in this case Limigantes) asked permission to establish themselves peacefully within the borders of the Roman Empire; they were willing, they said, to accept the burdens and the status of tributaries (*parati...ut...tributariorum onera subirent et nomen*, 19.11.6). Constantius liked the idea (it would mean the end of the campaign with peace restored), while some of his courtiers pointed to an important side effect should the request of the Limigantes be granted: *proletarios lucrabitur plures et tirocinia cogere poterit validissima* ("he would gain an accession of manpower and be in a position to levy strong bodies of recruits", 19.11.7, tr. Hamilton). In other words, barbarian recruits would take the place of recruits from the Roman provinces. This would also be advantageous for the inhabitants of the provinces, they added, for they prefer paying the 'aurum tironicum' rather than providing flesh-and-blood recruits: *aurum quippe gratanter provinciales corporibus* (abl. comparisonis, according to De Jonge ad loc., p. 221, or dative) *dabunt* (ibid.). In the end the Limigantes were not granted to settle in Roman territory: they treacherously attacked Constantius, but were defeated (19.11.8–16).

It would seem that Amm. in 19.11.7 sees the recruit money as a possible choice in 359. In other words, Carrié, 2004, 383 n. 47 is right ("Du moins l'historien présente-t-il la levée d'or plutôt que de recrues comme un choix possible en 359 déjà, sans revêtir à cette époque le moindre caractère de nouveauté") and Zuckerman, 1998, 97 n. 54 is wrong ("Ammianus ascribes to Constantius the intention of adaerating the provincial levies and enlisting barbarians...Ammianus' obvious purpose in introducing this episode is to explain in advance the disastrous effects of such a step, anticipating the results of Valens' decision. He makes it clear...that Constantius' design was never realized because of the Sarmatians' treachery. Thus intentions aside, there is no evidence on the adaeration of the provincial levies before Valens").

As to the present text, in 31.4.4 Amm. does not present Valens' measure as an innovation. On the contrary, his words are best interpreted if we assume that the 'aurum tironicum' was an existing phenomenon: if the emperor accepted the offer of the Goths to furnish auxiliary troops of their own accord, he could, instead of levying the indigenous soldiers which each province was supposed to contribute annually (*pro militari supplemento, quod provinciatim annuum pendebatur*), dispose of the income of the recruit money (*auri cumulus magnus*), which could then be added to the treasury (*thesauris accederet*) and used for other purposes.

So, pace Zuckerman, neither the text of Socrates nor that of Ammianus can be adduced as incontestable evidence to prove that Valens was the first emperor to introduce the adaeration of the provincial levies. What clinches the matter, however, is the wording of the “Schlüsseldokument” (Brandt, 1988, 70), *Cod. Theod.* 7.13.7 itself. For convenience sake we quote Valens’ words again: *inter reliqua vitia haec duo vel maxime intolerabilia iudicamus, quod aurum saepe pro corporibus immane deposcitur*. Note in the first place the word *saepe*, and secondly, that the position of *immane* indicates that this word is used predicatively, and not attributively. The correct translation of the essential words is therefore: “among other vices, these two we deem especially intolerable, namely, that often the amount of gold which is demanded instead of men is enormous”. This clearly indicates that the abuse which is censured here had been going on for some time.

- 4.5 *et navabatur opera diligens, ne qui Romanam rem eversurus relinqueretur vel quassatus morbo letali* Amm. uses the expression *operam navare* several times for unsavoury actions, as in 16.10.19 *tanta tamque diligens opera navabatur, ne fortissimi viri suboles appareret*; see ad 27.10.3 (p. 229) and 29.5.2 (p. 156). For the substantive use of *qui* instead of *(ali)quis* cf. 14.6.23 *exco-gitatum est adminiculum hospitale, ne qui amicum perferentem similia videat* (also 17.9.5, 22.6.4, 23.5.5). See Leeman-Pinkster ad Cic. *de Orat.* 1.8 *ne qui forte...putet*. Amm. uses the verb *quassare* ‘to weaken’ also in 14.5.2 *aegrum corpus quassari etiam levibus solet offensis*; see ad 24.3.9 (p. 88). The future participle *eversurus* may indicate intent (‘bent on destroying’) or fate (‘fated to destroy’). The latter is more in accordance with Amm.’s presentation of the events, since in section 10 of this chapter he lays the blame for the devastating consequences of admitting the Goths within the empire squarely on the Roman commanders Lupicinus and Maximus (*quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit*, “their treacherous greed was the source of all our evils”, tr. Rolfe) and states that initially the Goths were not aggressive (*quae memorati vel certe sinentibus isdem alii perditis rationibus in com-eantes peregrinos adhuc innoxios deliquerunt*, [crimes] “which these two men, or at least others with their permission, with the worst of motives committed against the foreign new-comers, who were as yet blameless”, tr. Rolfe).

*proinde permissu imperatoris transeundi Danubium copiam colendique ad-epti Thraciae partes transfretabantur in dies et noctes navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis agminatim impositi* Apart from *iussu* (ten times), Amm. uses *mandatu* (four times), *permissu*, *imperatu* and *suasu*; see ad 30.10.2 (p. 200). Eun. *fr.* 42 relates that Valens decided to allow the Goths to

cross the Danube (see for *Danubius* ad § 2, p. 57) after the pros and cons of this measure had been amply discussed in the consistory (ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ συλλόγῳ), and mentions two reasons. He says first (a somewhat peculiar reason), that it was because Valens “was rather chagrined at his fellow Emperors who, being sons of his brother..., had decided to divide up the Empire between themselves without referring the division to their uncle” (καὶ γὰρ ὑπὴν τι ζηλοτυπίας αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμβασιλεύοντας, οἱ παῖδες μὲν ἦσαν ἀδελφοῦ..., τὴν βασιλείαν δὲ διηρῆσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐδόκουν, τὴν διανομὴν οὐκ ἀνενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον), and then continues: “Because of this and in order that the Roman forces might be greatly increased, he ordered that the men should be received” (τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα, καὶ ὡς μεγάλη προσθήκη τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν αὐξήσων, δεχθῆναι κελεύει τοὺς ἄνδρας, tr. Blockley). Eunapius further says that the Goths should be disarmed (τὰ ὅπλα καταθεμένους; cf. Zos. 4.20.6 δέχεσθαι τούτους Οὐάλης ἐπέτρεπε πρότερον ἀποθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα).

This last condition is taken at face value by some scholars (e.g. Koehler, 1925, 55–57; Wanke, 1990, 125; Gutmann, 1991, 139 and Tannenbaum, 2016, 228). Others regard it as incorrect (so e.g. Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 402; Paschoud n. 143: “ce renseignement...doit être faux; puisque Valens voulait utiliser ces Goths comme soldats, il ne peut pas les avoir désarmés”; Heather, 1991, 124–125). Still others (e.g. Chauvot, 1998, 203, 257 and Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 399) assume that the requirement mentioned by Eunapius and Zosimus was indeed formulated as such by the emperor in Antioch, but that it could not be maintained in practice. At any rate, it does not tally with the actual event, if we can believe Hier. *Chron.* a. 377 *a Romanis sine armorum depositione suscepti* (sc. Gothi), Oros. *hist.* 7.33.10 *Gothi...ne arma quidem...tradidere Romanis* and Eunapius himself in what he narrates further on in *fr.* 42, where he first relates again that the emperor had given orders not to allow the Goths within the border of the empire “unless they laid down their weapons and crossed unarmed” (εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καταθέμενοι γυμνοὶ διαβαίνουσιν, tr. Blockley), but then says that corrupt officers failed to carry out this order and “received them (sc. the Goths) with their weapons as if they were some long-standing benefactors and saviours” (ὥσπερ τινας εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτήρας παλαιούς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐδέξαντο, tr. Blockley). Eunapius is echoed in Zos. 4.20.6 μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔλαθον οἱ πλείους περαιωθέντες, ‘most of them crossed unnoticed with their arms’. Cf. also 31.4.9 *armatorum agmina diffundente barbaria*.

Regrettably, Amm. does not specify which parts of Thrace the Goths were given to cultivate. Socr. *HE* 4.34.3 (τὰ μέρη τῆς Θράκης) and Zos. 4.26.1 (κατὰ τὴν Θράκην) are not very specific either. At any rate, here, as in 31.3.8, where it is called a fertile region (*caespitis...feracissimi*), Thrace in the wider sense



must be meant, as e.g. Cesa, 1984, 70–71 rightly notes, that is to say, the diocese, and not Thrace in the narrower sense, viz. one of the provinces which formed the diocese, although Amm. as a rule, when referring to the diocese, uses the plural (see ad 20.8.1, p. 182 and ad 27.4.11–12, p. 94). The use of the word *provinciae* in 31.4.8 (*innumerae gentium multitudines per provincias circumfusae*) provides support for this interpretation. A description of Thrace has been given in two digressions, 22.8 and 27.4. In 27.4.12–13 (pp. 94–98) the six provinces of the diocese of Thrace are listed, viz. Thracia, Haemimontus, Mysia (Moesia inferior/Moesia secunda), Scythia, Europa and Rhodopa. Of these Scythia and Mysia/Moesia were nearest to the southern bank of the Danube, so that the Goths, when they crossed the river, first arrived in (one of) these provinces. It would seem, therefore, that Iord. *Get.* 132 is right in stating: *susceptos...in partibus Moesiae Getas quasi murum regni sui contra ceteras statuit gentes*, sc. Valens. In *Get.* 133 Jordanes adds Dacia ripensis (cf. for this province ad 21.5.6, pp. 59–60) to the regions where the Goths settled: *ipsi quoque, ut dictum est, Danubio transmeantes Daciam ripensem, Moesiam Thraciasque permissu principis insederunt*. Eun. *fr.* 42 not only speaks of Thrace, but of ‘neighbouring Macedonia and Thessaly’ as well (ή...Θράκη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ συνεχῆς αὐτῇ χώρᾳ Μακεδονία καὶ Θεσσαλία). In 376 Valens was confronted with a similar situation as Constantine in 334 when dealing with the *Sarmatae Liberi*. Constantine also solved the problem by scattering the newcomers over a wide area (Eus. *VC* 4.6. Anon. *Vales.* 6.32).

Amm. does not say either under which conditions the Goths were allowed to cultivate Thrace. According to Oros. *hist.* 7.33.10 no formal treaty was signed (*Gothi...a Valente sine ulla foederis pactione suscepti*), but Eun. *fr.* 42 (echoed in Zos. 4.26.2) states that the Goths had to give children as hostages: ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀχρεῖον ἡλικίαν πρῶτον ὑποδεξαμένοις καὶ παραπέμψασιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ἐπικράτειαν καὶ ταύτην ἐς ὀμηρεῖαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχουσιν κτλ. (“From Antioch the Emperor ordered them first to receive those persons who were too young for war and to distribute them throughout the Roman dominion, holding them securely as hostages”, tr. Blockley). And Eunapius’ use of the word παρασπόνδος in *fr.* 42 also suggest that there must have been some sort of agreement: εὐθὺς πολὺ τι βάρβαρον ἐν τῷ παρασπόνδῳ καὶ ἀπίστῳ διέφαινον (“[after the crossing] they immediately revealed the degree of their barbarism by faithlessly breaking their agreements”, tr. Blockley). Among modern scholars the question of the precise juridical status which the Goths obtained is disputed. Heather, 1991, 122–128 plausibly argues for an agreement on equal terms, but most scholars (see the list in Heather, 1991, 124 n. 8) believe “che nel 376 i Goti furono accolti non grazie ad un *foedus*, ma in seguito ad una *deditio*” (Cesa, 1994, 19).

As to *navibus*, it is likely that use was made of ships of the Danube fleet (so Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 402; Wanke 1990, 122; Himmler, 2011, 35–36, 133–134), commanded, as in *Not. Dign. Or.* 40.36, by the *praefectus navium amnicarum et militum ibidem deputatorum*, who was under the command of the *dux Moesiae Secundae*; cf. for the use of such ships Zos. 4.35.1 (ποταμίαις ναυσί) and see in general for (the scanty information about) the *classis Moesica* in Late Antiquity Reddé, 1986, 303–306, 619, 645. For *rates* employed to cross a river see 14.2.10 *contextis ratibus* and 25.8.2 *ratibus temere textis*; for hollowed tree trunks used as canoes cf. 14.2.10 *cavatis arborum truncis*, 17.13.27 *cavatis roboribus* and 24.4.8 *alveis arborum cavatarum invecti*; cf. Zos. 4.38.5 πλήθει μονοξύλων ἐμβιβάσαντες, with the last section of Paschoud's n. 177, and see Himmler, 2011, 134–137.

Neither Amm. nor any other source indicates where the crossing took place, but according to the *communis opinio* it took place near Dorostorus or Durostorum on the intersection of important roads (see for this city, the ruins of which are situated some four kilometers from modern Silistra in Bulgaria, ad 27.4.12, p. 96 and Wanke, 1990, 34–35; Talbert 22 E4). Wanke, 1990, 116–120 explains why this option is preferable to that of other possible locations, Novae or Ad Novas (near Svishtov in Bulgaria, Talbert 22 C5), Troesmis (Iglița in Romania, Talbert 22 F3) and Noviodunum (Isaccea in Romania, see ad 27.5.6, p. 114; Talbert 22 F3, 23 B3).

The expression *in dies et noctes* 'night and day' is found only in the *Res Gestae*, here and in 26.7.3. How many nights and days were needed is hard to say. When the people of the Helvetii in 58 B.C. crossed the Arar (Saone), it took them twenty days (Caes. *Gal.* 1.13.2 *diebus xx aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent*). Amm. uses *agminatim* two more times, once (22.8.47) for schools of fish from the Black Sea, once for the army of Xerxes (18.6.23); the adverb emphasizes, therefore, primarily the enormous numbers of the invading Goths. Ratti, 2007, 193–194 plausibly argues that the adverb also has a derogatory connotation, by comparing the Goths to a herd of cattle.

*atque per amnem longe omnium difficillimum imbriumque crebritate tunc auctum ob densitatem nimiam contra ictus aquarum nitentes quidam et natare conati hausti sunt plures* The prepositional phrase *per amnem* must be taken with *natare*. The use of *difficilis* to describe a river may be compared to 15.10.5 *calles difficile...pervaduntur* (*calles* Petschenig, *graves* V); Caesar writes (*Gal.* 6.7.5) *difficili transitu flumen ripisque praeruptis*. The width of the Danube is explained in 31.2.13 *abundans aquarum Hister advenarum magnitudine fluenti*, "the Danube, swollen by the waters of a number of its tributaries", tr. Hamilton (text uncertain because of a lacuna). *Ob densitatem*

*nimiam* vividly describes the Goths jostling desperately along the river bank, and explains why some of them even try to swim across. For *ictus* used of water gushing forth cf. 22.8.17 (rivers) *in mare ictu rapido decurrentes* and Ov. *Met.* 4. 122–124 *cum vitiato fistula plumbo...eiaculatur aquas atque ictibus aera rumpit* (“just as when a pipe has broken at a weak spot in the lead and...sends spurting forth long streams of water, cleaving the air with its jets”, tr. Miller); TLL VII 1.166.44–51.

Amm.’s reference to the fact that *tunc* the Danube was swollen because of frequent rains can be taken as an indication that the Goths crossed the river either in spring or in early summer 376 (so e.g. Heather, 1991, 122 and Lenski, 2002, 325 n. 30) or in the autumn of that year (Seeck, 1920–1923<sup>2-4</sup>, V, 101; Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 402, Paschoud n. 143, Ratti, 2007, 181). Wanke, 1990, 120–122 discusses the alternatives and opts for the first possibility, inter alia because “die einschlägige Forschung übereinstimmend (betont), daß die Hauptmasse der Niederschläge im Raum der unteren Donau in die Monate Mai und Juni fällt” (p. 121 with references in n. 42). This tallies with 27.5.5 (pp. 111–114), where Amm. relates that (in 368) Valens and his army were prevented from crossing the Danube and invading the enemy’s territory because of the flooding of the river: they were forced to remain inactive *ad usque autumnum*.

*Ita turbido instantium studio orbis Romani perniciēs ducebatur* Amm.’s lapidary conclusion is damning. *Turbidus* ‘ill-considered’, ‘rash’ characterizes barbarians as opposed to Romans in 16.12.47: *Alamanni robusti et celsiores, milites usu nimio dociles; illi feri et turbidi, hi quieti et cauti*; in 18.9.3 it is used of soldiers who had fought against the legitimate emperor Constantius. *Instare* is sarcastic, since it normally refers to commendable efforts in the public interest, as in 22.7.7 about Julian *Nec tamen cum corrigendis civilibus ita diligenter instaret, omisit castrensia* and 27.3.3 about Symmachus *quo instante urbs sacratissima otio copiisque abundantius solito fruebatur*. For *orbis Romanus* see ad 21.13.13 (p. 208) and 25.9.7 (p. 294). The interpretation of *perniciēs ducebatur* is uncertain. The phrase may be a deliberate distortion of *orbis Romanus ad perniciem ducebatur*, to be compared with Hier. *epist.* 60.16 *Romanus orbis ruit*, which refers to the same dramatic events. Alternatively, *perniciēs* may be taken as a form of abstractum pro concreto referring to the Goths. That seems to be how TLL V 1.2141.59–60 takes it (“de Gothis Danuvium transfretantibus”) and may be compared to 23.5.3 *Mariade vivo exusto, qui eos* (Persas) *ad suorum interitum civium duxerat inconsulte*, “Mareades, who had rashly guided them to destroy his fellow-citizens, was burnt alive”, tr. Hamilton. Very attractive is the note ‘come un funerale’

by Viansino, who was presumably thinking of the expression *ducere funus*. This would result in the paraphrase ‘thus was the Roman world led to its grave by the ill-considered zeal (of its own leaders)’. That the invasion of the Goths led ultimately to the ruin of the Roman Empire was something which could only be surmised two years later, after the battle at Adrianople; see for the contemporary reactions to this disaster Lenski, 1997, who refers in the title of his article to Rufin. *hist.* 11.13 *Quae pugna initium mali Romano imperio tunc et deinceps fuit*.

*illud sane neque obscurum est neque incertum infaustos transvehendi barbaram plebem ministros numerum eius comprehendere calculo saepe temptantes conquiesse frustratos* For the adverb *sane*, “adding force to a statement” (OLD) cf. 20.8.15 *Hoc sane sine ulla dubitatione firmaverim*, echoing Cic. *Brut.* 25, who writes *vero* instead of *sane* and *confirmaverim* instead of *firmaverim* (Amm. probably writes the simplex for metrical reasons). In 24.7.3 Amm. calls the guides, who led the Roman army from Ctesiphon into ambushes and deserts, which ultimately resulted in the disastrous ending of the Persian campaign, *infausti ductores*; see also ad 26.10.9 (p. 283). For *calculo comprehendere* ‘to calculate’ cf. Cassiod. *inst.* 1.13.2 *Augustinus...scripturas divinas LXXI librorum calculo comprehendit* (‘Augustine...gives 71 books as the sum total of the Holy Scriptures’) and for *conquiescere* ‘to give up’ Cic. *de Orat.* 3.145 *perfecto numquam conquiescam neque defetigabor*. Contrary to Amm., Eun. *fr.* 42 hazards to give the number of the Goths who had fled from the Huns: almost two hundred thousand (πλήθος...ὅτι πολὺ τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἀποδέον). The passage has sometimes been misunderstood. Eunapius does not say that only “die wehrhaften Männer 200,000 gezählt hätten, was auf eine Gesamtstärke von etwa 1 Million Seelen führen würde” (Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 403; cf. in the same vein Paschoud n. 143), but speaks of the total number of Goths (τὸ δὲ συναλίσθῃν καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαν πλήθος). Nevertheless, it seems wise to take the number *cum grano salis*, pace e.g. Burns, 1973, 337, who accepts it at face value; cf. Heather 139 n. 44: “Reconstruction based on Eunapius’ 200,000 Goths (fr. 42), will be misleading” and Wanke, 1990, 125–126. Brodka, 2009a, 267 estimates that c. 100,000–150,000 Goths crossed the Danube in 376.

*“quem qui scire velit” ut eminentissimus memorat vates, “Libyci velit aequoris idem discere quam multae zephyro trudentur harenae”* The quotation is Verg. *G.* 2.105–106: “He who would have knowledge of this would likewise want to learn how many grains of sand on the Libyan plain are stirred by the West Wind”, tr. Goold. Cf. 14.11.34 *quae omnia si scire quisquam velit, quam*

*varia sint et assidua, harenarum numerum idem iam desipiens et montium pondera scrutari putabit.* Amm. likes to mark high points in his narrative with a quotation from Vergil, for instance the beginning of Julian's career as a Caesar (15.9.1): *Proinde quoniam—ut Mantuanus vates praedixit excelsus—opus moveo maius maiorque mihi rerum nascitur ordo* (Verg. A. 7.44–45); Den Hengst, 2005. Amm. is evidently quoting from memory and changes Vergil's *turbentur* to *truduntur*, thereby ignoring the rule that an indirect question requires a subjunctive. See for Amm.'s inaccuracy (or liberty) in quoting Meurig-Davies, 1948, 219 and for his use of the indic. in indirect questions ad 28.4.15 (p. 197). Moreover, *trudere* 'to push' does not go well with weightless grains of sand as its object. For the proverbial expression see Otto, 1890, 159.

*resipiscant tandem memoriae veteres Medicas acies ductantes ad Graeciam* The verb *resipiscere* "to come to one's senses again" (OLD s.v. 2b) occurs already in classical authors, e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 48.1 *rectorem quoque solitus apponere aetate parvis aut mente lapsis, donec adollescere aut resipiscere*, "regularly appointing a guardian for such as were too young to rule or whose minds were affected, until they grew up or recovered", tr. Rolfe; Tac. *Hist.* 5.25.3 *ventum ad extrema, ni resipiscere incipiant*, "There was nothing left them, unless they began to come to their senses", tr. Moore & Jackson (adapted). Amm. uses the verb in the weakened sense 'to revive'. The ancient tales about Xerxes' invasion of Greece had been dismissed as fanciful (cf. § 7 *ut fabulosae sunt lectae*), but the recent flood of Goths proved that the enormous numbers mentioned in the sources were not exaggerated at all. Amm. is obviously referring to Hdt. 7.1–100, without consulting him directly, as Fornara, 1992, 422–423 has argued convincingly. The striking personification *memoriae...ductantes* raises the stylistic level of this passage, thereby underlining the importance of the events described. Similar personifications are 14.11.26 aboutAdrastia/Fortuna: *pinnae autem...illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit...eique subdidit rotam* and 22.2.3 about the chariot of Triptolemus: *quem...aeris serpentibus et pinnigeris fabulosa vetustas imponit*. On the importance of this *figura* in Amm. see Blomgren 83–94.

There are two more such grandiloquent asides in which Amm. compares recent heroic feats with scenes from Homer and ancient history: 18.6.23 *quo usque nobis Doriscum...et agminatim intra consaepta exercitus recensetos, Graecia fabulosa, narrabis?* and 24.6.14 *Sonent Hectoreas poetae veteres pugnas, fortitudinem Thessali ducis extollant* e.q.s. In the *Historia Augusta* the author describes the massive Gothic invasion during the reign of Claudius II Gothicus and interrupts his narrative for the following outpouring: *Armatorum trecenta viginti milia. Quis tandem Xerxes hoc habuit? Quae fabella istum*

*numerus adfinxit? Quis poeta composuit? (Cl 6.5).* The common reference to poetry (i.e. Homer), the expedition of Xerxes and the fabulous character of these celebrated events from ancient history is especially striking because it is not part of the historical narrative but a personal aside in both authors.

*quae, dum Hellespontiacos pontes et discidio quodam fabrili mare sub imo Athonis pede quaesitum exponunt et turmatim apud Doriscum exercitus recensetos, concordante omni posteritate ut fabulosae sunt lectae* 4.7 The wording in this passage is extremely recherché. Henri de Valois wrote about it: “sequentia mirum in modum corrupta sunt, quae absque librorum (‘manuscripts’) subsidio nemo, ut opinor, emendaverit”. The building of the boat bridges across the Hellespont has been described by Hdt. 7.33–36. Like the cutting of the channel through the Athos peninsula (Hdt. 7.22–24) it was a standard instance of hubris on the part of the Persian despot. *Mare...quaesitum* means that the soldiers had to dig until they reached sea level. In 27.4.7 Amm. had used *discidium* for the Bosphorus, a natural as opposed to a man-made (*fabrilis*) strait; for the adj. see TLL VI 1.24.6–10. For *quodam* (“toning down a metaphor or unusual turn of phrase” OLD s.v. 3) see ad 20.3.12 (pp. 48–49); Szantyr 196–197. *Mare sub imo Athonis pede* is Vossius’ convincing emendation of V’s *maris ubi montonis pede*; cf. 14.8.10 *imos...pedes Cassii* and 19.3.1 *per imos pedes montium*. The channel was cut through the narrowest part of the peninsula on the northern slope of mount Athos.

*Turmatim* “in troops or squadrons (of cavalry)”, (OLD) is a hapax in the *Res Gestae*. Sallust uses it once, Livy six times. See on adverbs in *-im* ad section 4 above (p. 60). For *turma* see ad 23.3.4 (p. 40), 24.3.1 (p. 70) and 27.1.4 (p. 9), where it is stated that in Amm. *turma* has the general meaning of a military unit or force. In the present passage the adverb refers to Hdt. 7.60 about the counting of Xerxes’ army in groups of 10,000 men. Fletcher, 1930, 197 defends the reading *recensetos* instead of *recensitos* (V has *recensetus*) referring to *exercitus recensetos* in 18.6.23 (pp. 220–221), where Amm. had already mentioned this event. The total of Xerxes’ land forces at Doriscus turned out to be 1,700,000 (σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ τὸ πλῆθος ἐφάνη ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδες, 7.60). Note that Amm. does not refer to the most striking Herodotean passage concerning numbers, 7.186.2, where it is said that Xerxes’ army consisted of 5,283,220 men. As to *posteritate*, modern scholars do not accept Herodotus’ calculations of the army which Xerxes brought with him to Greece in 480 B.C. (cf. e.g. Rubincam, 2008, 96 with references in n. 6). Explicit criticism by ancient authors in this respect is lacking, but D.S. 11.3.7 may be regarded as an implicit correction of Hdt. 7.60: Diodorus states that the size of the land

forces at Doriscus was over 800,000 (ἡριθμήθησαν δὲ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως μυριάδες πλείους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα), that is, less than half of what Herodotus says. General comments on Herodotus as φιλοψευδής, φιλόμυθος κτλ. are quite common in Antiquity: Cic. *Leg.* 1.5, Plut. *Mor.* (*De Herodoti malignitate*) 854 f., Str. 1.2.35, 11.6.3, 17.1.52, Lucianus *VH* 2.31, *Philops.* 2, D. Chr. 18.10, cf. D.S. 1.59.2, 1.66.10; see Riemann, 1967, *passim* and Evans, 1968. For modern views see e.g. Pritchett, 1993, who argues against those scholars (in the first place Fehling, 1989) who allege that Herodotus was consciously fictionalizing.

For *fabulosus* cf. 19.8.11 *vetustate rem fabulosius extollente*, 22.2.3 quoted ad section 6 above (p. 70) and 31.13.19 *certamina multa fabulosae neniae* ('dirges') *flevire Graecorum*.

- 4.8 *nam postquam innumerae gentium multitudines per provincias circumfusae pandentesque se in spatia ampla camporum regiones omnes et cuncta opplevire montium iuga, fides quoque vetustatis recenti documento firmata est* The six provinces of the dioecesis Thracia are enumerated in 27.4.12–13; cf. above ad § 5 (p. 66). *Circumfusae pandentesque se* is an instance of Amm.'s *abundantia sermonis*. For the latter verb cf. 17.4.3 *pandentis se late Carthaginis* and 29.6.8 *latius se cum Sarmatis Quadi pandentes*; TLL X 1.196.2–13. Abstract nouns with gen. like *gentium multitudines* and *spatia camporum* are discussed ad 29.5.44 (p. 204).

The massive invasion of Thrace was, apart from being a momentous event in itself, also (*quoque*) proof of the reliability (*fides*) of the Herodotean narrative, which Amm. had earlier in 18.6.23 rejected with scorn: *quo usque nobis Doriscum, Thraciae oppidum, et agminatim intra consaepta exercitus recensetos, Graecia fabulosa, narrabis?* Sabbah 67 sees the present passage as an "amende honorable": "L'historien reconnaît avoir commis une erreur regrettable en faisant sien un préjugé et il invoque à sa décharge la méfiance de la tradition *unanime* à l'égard d'Hérodote", which is taking this rhetorical flourish far too seriously.

*et primus cum Alavivo suscipitur Fritigernus, quibus et alimenta pro tempore et subigendos agros tribui statuerat imperator* Alavivus, already mentioned in 31.4.1 (p. 54), is only known from Amm.; there is one more reference to him, in 31.5.5. Fritigern (*PLRE* I, Fritigern) is mentioned eleven times in the *Res Gestae* (here for the first time). He is called *rex* in 31.6.5. About him we find information in other sources too. Socr. *HE* 4.33.1, Soz. *HE* 6.37.6 and *Passio Nicetae* 3 speak of the part he played as an opponent of Athanaric in the struggle for power among the Goths to which Amm. obliquely refers in 31.3.8 (p. 50) without mentioning Fritigern's name.

In the sources mentioned above Fritigern is credited with the introduction of Christianity among the Goths, a topic which Amm., in keeping with his habitual reticence about religious and internal affairs of foreign nations (compare his description of Papa vs. Narses in 30.1.2, p. 6) omits from his history. Socrates, our principal source, relates that Fritigern, when Athanaric gained the upper hand in the civil war, asked the Romans for help, whereupon Valens sent troops to Thrace. With their assistance Fritigern defeated Athanaric somewhere north of the Danube (πέραν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ). Out of gratitude he embraced the religion of his benefactor, that is 'Arian' Christianity, and urged his fellow Goths to do the same (*HE* 4.33.2–4); see for Fritigern's 'Arianism' Chauvot, 2014. Sozomen also refers to the Gothic civil war and to Fritigern's request for Roman help (*HE* 6. 37.6).

Heather, 1986 provides a lucid account of the information given in the sources (apart from Socrates and Sozomen: Eunapius, Theodoret, John of Antioch, Jordanes, Jerome and Orosius, none of whom mentions Fritigern), the problems, and the suggestions of other scholars, such as Klein, 1960, Schäferdiek, 1979 and Rubin, 1981. Heather concludes (p. 317): "The sources strongly suggest that a Gothic conversion was part of the agreement by which the Tervingi of Alavivus and Fritigern gained legal admittance to the Empire in 376". Lenski, 1995 challenges this view and returns to the position that Socrates' account is correct; cf. Lenski, 2002, 321 with n. 4. Other scholars too reject Heather's suggestion, e.g. Chauvot, 1998, 199 and 202 with n. 426, who dates the conversion of the Goths in 373–374, and Schäferdiek, 2014, 28, who argues for 369 (the latter does not mention Heather's article).

See ad 24.3.8 for *pro tempore* 'in accordance with the situation'. For *subigere* "to work (soil) by ploughing" (OLD s.v. 7b) cf. Tib. 2.3.8 *dum subigunt steriles arva serenda boves*. The verb seems to imply that the Goths were awarded virgin territory. The emperor was still in Antioch; see ad §1 (pp. 55–56). For *imperator* in Amm. see Béranger, 1976, 56–58.

*Per id tempus nostri limitis reseratis obicibus atque ut Aetnaeas favillas armorum agmina diffundente barbaria* For the date see above, ad §1 (pp. 55–56) and §5 (p. 68), for *limes* in Amm. Drijvers 2011; here, as in probably six other cases, the word refers to an actual border or demarcation line. The first abl. abs. evokes the image of the bursting of a dyke (cf. 31.8.5 *amnis immani impulsu undarum obicibus ruptis emissus*), the second of a rain of ash after a volcanic eruption. For *Aetnaeos* cf. Claud. *Cons. Mall. Theod.* 72 *alter* (Empedocles) *in Aetnaeas casurus sponte favillas*; TLL I 1162.31–59. Amm. uses *barbaria* only here. It is common in classical authors, especially Cicero; TLL II 1729.29–46. In 17.12.21, 18.2.14 and 27.5.6 (pp. 114–115) we find *barbaricum*.



*cum difficiles necessitatum articuli correctores rei militaris poscerent aliquos claritudine gestarum rerum notissimos* Cf. 17.9.6 *articulos...necessitatum ancipites* and see ad 30.4.15 (pp. 90–91). Hier. *epist* 11 *in hoc necessitatis articulo* and see ad 20.11.22 (p. 277) and 30.4.15 (pp. 90–91). *Corrector* is used *sensu proprio* here and in 31.14.2 (Valens) *severus militaris et civilis disciplinae corrector*; TLL IV.1029.18–39. In 15.5.14 *cum correctoris dignitate regere iussus est Tuscos* and 27.3.2 *hanc eandem provinciam correctoris administraverat potestate* it is the title of a provincial governor; TLL IV 1029.45–66.

*quasi laevo quodam numine deligente in unum quaesiti potestatibus prae-fuere castrensibus homines maculosi* Cf. 14.11.12 *numine laevo ductante* about Gallus heading for disaster; TLL VII 2.892.59–70. It evokes *numina laeva* in Verg. *G.* 4.7, but above all A. 2.54–56 *et si fata deum, si mens non laeva fuisset...Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres*. See Austin's note; Amm. possibly took *mens* with *deum*. The allusion to Vergil is highly functional since the rapacity of the generals chosen by the malicious deity provoked the Goths to war. For *in unum quaerere* 'to bring together', 'to collect', an idiosyncrasy of Amm., see ad 26.2.2 (p. 41). The *potestates castrenses* are staff officers, as in 14.10.10 *imperator...circumdatus potestatum coetu cel-sarum* and 21.16.2 *castrenses et ordinariae potestates*. The adj. *maculosus* expresses contempt; see ad 28.4.2 (p. 171); TLL VIII 30.39.

*quibus Lupicinus antistabat et Maximus, alter per Thracias comes, dux alter exitiosus* The *comes (rei militaris) per Thracias* Lupicinus (PLRE I, Lupicinus 3), who figures prominently in Book 31 (5.2, 5.5–6, 5.9), is generally identified with the guardsman of that name who had served in the *schola Gentilium* (27.10.12, p. 245). For the function of *comes rei militaris* ("ein Titel der selten in dieser Vollständigkeit gebraucht wird", Seeck, 1901, 662) see ad 20.4.18 (pp. 97–98). Maximus (PLRE I, Maximus 24) is mentioned here for the first time in the *Res Gestae*, pace Seyfarth in his index nominum on p. 225, who identifies him with the Maximus of 29.5.6 (p. 162) and 29.5.21. Presumably, *dux* is here used, not in a general sense, as in § 11 (and e.g. in 21.7.1, p. 95 and 25.5.1, p. 171), but in the technical sense of 'zone commander of the frontier troops', instituted by Diocletian when he separated the military command from the civil government in some provinces (cf. Jones 43–44). If so, then Maximus was either *dux Scythiae* (cf. *Not. Dign. Or.* 39) or *dux Moesiae Inferioris/Secundae* (cf. *Not. Dign. Or.* 40).

The adj. *exitiosus* is used rarely of persons. Instances are Tac. *Ann.* 11.17.2 *privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi*; *Hist.* 2.31.1 *Vitellius ventre et gula*

*sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu saevitia audacia rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur; 4.50.2 (Baebius Massa) iam tunc optimo cuique exitiosus.*

*ambo aemulae temeritatis, quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit* Hier. *Chron.* a. 377 and Oros. *hist.* 7.33.11 are silent about Lupicinus, but mention Maximus' greed: *per avaritiam Maximi ducis, propter intolerabilem avaritiam Maximi ducis*, respectively. Amm. repeats Sallust's well-known condemnation of greed as the fundamental evil threatening Rome's existence: *igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit: ea* (n. pl., refers to *pecuniae cupido* and *imperi cupido*) *quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. namque avaritia fidem probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvortit* e.q.s. (*Cat.* 10.3–4), as Julian had done in the speech to his soldiers before entering Persian territory (23.5.21, pp. 124–125). The present situation is even more dangerous, since the culprits are not common soldiers but generals, and the victims are not conquered enemies, but people begging for protection from Rome. There is a note on *materia*, here in the meaning 'source', ad 30.1.1 (p. 3).

*nam, ut alia omittamus, quae memorati vel certe sinentibus isdem alii perditis rationibus in commeantes peregrinos adhuc innoxios deliquerunt* Eun. *fr.* 42 relates some other crimes committed against the Goths by the Roman troops on the Danube border (he does not mention the names of the offenders): ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν διαβεβηκότων ἦρα παιδαρίου τινὸς λευκοῦ καὶ χαρίεντος τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ ἦλω ἐκ γυναικὸς εὐπροσώπου τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ὃς δὲ ἦν αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ παρθένου, τοὺς δὲ τὸ μέγεθος κατεῖχε τῶν δώρων τὰ τε λινὰ ὑφάσματα καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα θυσανοειδές· ἕκαστος δὲ ἀπλῶς αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καταπλήσειν οἰκετῶν καὶ τὰ χωρία βοηλατῶν καὶ τὴν ἐρωτικὴν λύσσαν τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐξουσίας ("But one was smitten by a fair and pretty boy amongst those who had crossed, another was taken by the beautiful wife of one of the captives, another was captivated by some maiden, and they were all mesmerised by the valuable gifts given them, linen shirts and coverlets fringed on both sides. Quite simply, each of them had decided that he would fill his house with domestics and his farm with herdsmen and sate his mad lust through the licence which he enjoyed", tr. Blockley). Cf. Zos. 4.20.6.

On substantivized *memoratus* "i.q. supradictus" (TLL VIII 694.35 sqq.) see ad 26.5.9 (p. 116). For *vel certe* see ad 25.2.6 (p. 51). Here the expression is used in its normal sense 'to mitigate a preceding statement which might be regarded as too bold'. Lupicinus and Maximus were either directly or indirectly responsible for the despicable treatment of the Goths. There is only one other instance of *perditis rationibus*: Cic. *Phil.* 2.50 *id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse*

*ducebas*. If this was Amm.'s model, he must have misinterpreted it, since in Cicero *perditis vitae rationibus* does not mean 'by your depraved ways', but rather "once you had squandered your means of livelihood" (tr. Lacey). See also ad 26.6.12 *perdita ratione* (p. 152). The verb *commeare* is often used in connection with business purposes, as in 23.6.60 *iter longissimum patet mercatoribus pervium ad Seras subinde commeantibus*; Cic. *Man.* 55 (insula Delos), *quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant*; Cael. 38 (about Clodia) *cuius in hortos, domum, Baias iure suo libidines omnium commearent* ("to whose grounds, house, estate at Baiae there was an automatic right of way for every lecherous person", tr. Austin). Thus *commeantes* means 'to come to do business', i.e. to buy food. Note *adhuc innoxios*: The Goths only started burning and looting after they had been maltreated by people like Lupicinus and Maximus.

*illud dicetur, quod nec apud sui periculi iudices absolvere ulla poterat venia triste et inauditum* For *nec* = *ne quidem* cf. 28.1.39 *ut nec in alienis malis quorundam exarescerent lacrimae* (p. 82) and 28.4.5 *ut nec Epimenides...solus purgare sufficeret Romam* (p. 177). Even if Lupicinus and Maximus had been allowed to judge their own case, they would have found no grounds for mercy. Henri de Valois aptly compared Cic. *Deiot.* 4 *nemo enim fere est qui sui periculi iudex non sibi se aequiorem quam reo praebeat* and Sen. *Ben.* 2.26.2 *Nemo non benignus est sui iudex*.

- 4.11 *cum traducti barbari victus inopia vexarentur, turpe commercium duces invississimi cogitarunt et, quantos undique insatiabilitas colligere potuit canes, pro singulis dederant Mancipii, inter quae quidam ducti sunt optimatum* After they had crossed the Danube the Goths were entitled to "supplies and land" (κτήματά τε...καὶ χώραν, Eun. *fr.* 45.3, tr. Blockley), but they were nevertheless troubled by lack of food, "in large part no doubt because of the overwhelming number of refugees" (Lenski, 2002, 325); cf. 31.5.1 and Iord. *Get.* 134 *quibus evenit, ut adsolet genti, necdum bene loco fundatis, penuria famis* ("Soon famine and want came upon them, as often happens to a people not yet well settled in a country", tr. Mierow).

There is no need to doubt *cogitarunt*; cf. 29.1.34 *ut cogitati sceleris officina pateret aperte*; Cic. *Mil.* 45 *nisi ad cogitatum facinus adproperaret*. The "abominable form of barter" (Hamilton) is referred to in 31.5.1 with the words *nefandis nundinandi commerciis*. This is the only instance of *quanti* = *quot* in the *Res Gestae*; see Szantyr 207. For the rare noun *insatiabilitas* see TLL VII 1.1838.15. The daring use of the abstractum pro concreto as subject of *potuit* makes one wonder whether V's *dederat* should not be kept, despite the fact

that it was changed to the plural *dederant* by all editors. In any case the tense is problematic, not so much because of the irregular use of the pluperfect, for which see ad 27.1.1 (p. 2) and Ehrismann 12–14, but because of the irregular cursus *dédéra(n)t mancípiis*. Still, it seems prudent to accept the metrical anomaly rather than to change the reading of V. The relative clause which concludes the sentence is not beyond suspicion either. In V's *inter que ducti sunt optimatum* a subject is missing. Henri de Valois proposed to add *et filii* after *inter que* (= *quae*), which suits the context perfectly. *Ducti sunt* is not clear either. Who is the Agens? If the Goths, it would be a simplex pro composito *adducti sunt*, comparable to 29.4.4 *venalia ducentes mancipia scurras* ("traders leading slaves intended for sale", tr. Rolfe), if the Romans, as seems more likely, it would be the equivalent of *abducti sunt*. For the use of *optimates* for non-Romans see ad 20.6.3 (p. 139) and TLL IX 2.820.46–84.

For the acquisition of slaves in these circumstances cf. Eun. fr. 42, quoted ad § 10. In itself this was no novelty. "The main lawful source of slaves for the market was the barbarians beyond the frontiers" (Jones 853), and improper use of the slave trade was not without precedents. In 370 Themistius (Or. 10.136 b) complained about φρουράρχας δὲ καὶ ταξιάρχας ἐμπόρους μᾶλλον καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων καπήλους, οἷς τοῦτο μόνον ἔργον προσέκειτο, πλείστα μὲν ὠνήσασθαι, πλείστα δὲ καὶ ἀπεμπολῆσαι ("commandants and officers acting as merchants, even slave traders, this being their sole employment—to buy and sell as much as possible", tr. Heather).

*Per hos dies interea etiam Viderichus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo et Safrace, quorum arbitrio regebatur, itemque Farnobio propinquans Histri marginibus, ut simili susciperetur humanitate, obsecravit imperatorem legatis prope missis* The CLCLT offers no parallel for the tautology *per hos dies interea*. For Viderichus and his guardians Alatheus and Safrax see ad 31.3.3 (p. 43), for the Greuthungi ad 27.5.6 (pp. 115–116) and 31.3.1 (p. 40). Farnobius (PLRE I, Farnobius) appears here for the first time. He is known only from Amm. In 31.9.3 Amm. calls him *Gothorum optimatem*, in 31.9.4 he is called *metuendus...incensor turbarum*. As in the case of the Thervingi in § 5 (p. 67), it is not known where precisely Viderichus cum suis got near the bank of the Danube (see for *Hister* above, ad § 2, p. 57). With *simili susciperetur humanitate* Amm. refers to section 4 (legatorum) *precibus et obtestatione petentium citra flumen suscipi plebem extorrem*. Since Valens was still in Antioch (see ad § 1, pp. 55–56), that is, some 1700 kilometers from (say, Durostorum, near modern Silistra, on) the Danube, *prope* seems opportune, if the Greuthungi required a quick answer. For *imperator* see above, ad § 8 (p. 73).

4.12

4.13 *quibus, ut communi rei conducere videbatur, repudiatis et, quid capesserent, anxii Athanaricus paria pertimescens abscessit* For *res communis* (*communes*) ‘the state’s interest’ see ad 22.11.4 (p. 203), 27.9.4 (p. 208) and 30.3.4 (p. 54). Amm. notes with approval the changed attitude of Valens, who at first had given in to the pressure of his courtiers to admit the Goths indiscriminately within Roman territory (section 4). For *repudiare* see ad 20.5.10 (p. 132) and for *anxius* with indirect question cf. 14.11.6 *anxia cogitatione, quid moliretur, haerebat*. There is a note on *capessere* ad 21.7.1 (p. 94). In 31.3.8 Amm. reports that Athanaric (p. 50) had been deserted by the majority of his people, because he had failed to provide them with food. In 31.3.7 (pp. 47–48) we saw this *Thervingorum iudex* (31.3.4) busy building walls *a superciliis Gerasi fluminis ad usque Danubium*. He now leaves the Danube area (*abscessit*); under Theodosius, however, Athanaric did go to Constantinople, where he died and was honoured with a royal burial; see for this 27.5.10, pp. 125–126.

*memor Valentem dudum, cum foederaretur concordia, despexisse affirmantem se religione devinctum, ne calcaret solum aliquando Romanum, hacque causatione principem firmare pacem in medio flumine coegisse* The infinitives *despexisse* and *coegisse* are governed by *memor. Valentem* and *principem* are the object of *despexisse* and *coegisse* respectively. The subject of both infinitives *se* (= Athanaric) is left out, probably because it is expressed in the Acl *se...devinctum (esse)*. For the omission of the subject see ad 28.6.21 (p. 286). Amm. refers to the incident at the conclusion of the Gothic wars of 367–369 in February or March 370, when Athanaric refused to come to Valens for the signing of a peace treaty, because he had sworn an oath never to set foot on Roman soil (27.5.9, pp. 121–124). The expression *foederare concordiam* is unique; in 27.5.9 Amm. writes *foederari...pacem*, with which cf. 24.2.21 (p. 66), 25.7.14 and 30.2.3. In 21.3.4 (*rupto concordiae pacto*) *concordia* refers to a treaty between Rome and the Alamans, in 30.10.3 (*rupturum concordiae iura*) to the loyalty of the Gallic troops. *Religione* emphasizes the sacred character of the oath, expressed in 27.5.9 (p. 121) by the words *sub timenda exsecratione iurandi*. For *causatio* ‘excuse’ or ‘pretext’ see ad 18.6.5 (p. 167).

*quam simultatem veritus ut adhuc durantem ad Caucalandensem locum altitudine silvarum inaccessum et montium cum suis omnibus declinavit Sarmatis inde extrusis* For *quam simultatem* in the sense of *cuius rei simultatem* ‘the grudge caused by this’ (Rolfe) see Kühner-Stegmann 1, 64–66 and Pinkster II 18.28. As to *Caucalandensis locus*, “it is not certain where this

‘promised land’ of Athanaric’s Thervingi was located, but we should probably look for it in the upper Alutus valley in Walachia or in Transylvania” (Wolfram, 1988, 73). For a discussion of alternatives see Klein, 1957. For the *Sarmatae* see ad 29.6.15, pp. 243–244.



## CHAPTER 5

### *Introduction*

As was suggested in the introduction to chapter four, this chapter should begin with the words *Per hos dies interea* (4.12), which introduce Valens' refusal to admit the Greuthungi within the borders of the empire. The Thervingi, who had earlier received permission to cross the Danube, were at the mercy of the Roman generals, Lupicinus in particular, who exploited their lack of provisions and forced them to pay extortionate prices for food. This prompted them to consider rebellion against the Romans, whereupon Lupicinus ordered them to move further inland, calling upon Roman troops to keep the situation under control (§ 1–2). While these soldiers were busy supervising the Thervingi, the Greuthungi in their turn saw their way clear to cross the Danube and to pitch camp on the south bank of the river (§ 3).

Lupicinus invited Fritigern and Alavivus, leaders of the Thervingi, to a banquet within the walls of Marcianopolis, but forbade their kinsmen, who wanted to buy provisions, to enter the city. This led to skirmishes between the inhabitants of Marcianopolis and the Goths, in the course of which a large number of Roman soldiers lost their lives. When this was reported to Lupicinus in the banquet hall, he gave orders that the Gothic body-guards, who were waiting outside for their leaders, should be killed (§ 4–6).

At this critical moment Fritigern claimed that the only way to prevent a massacre was to allow him to calm his people down. To achieve this he was permitted to leave the city and join his people. But from this moment on he proceeded to lead them into war against the Romans. The Goths roamed the Thracian diocese ravaging the countryside and murdering the inhabitants (§ 7–9).

Lupicinus, after hasty and ill-considered preparations, decided to make a stand against the Goths near Marcianopolis. The Romans, however, were no match for their frenzied opponents. Many officers and men met their death and standards fell into the hands of the barbarians. Only a few managed to escape. One of them was the general Lupicinus, who behaved like a coward and fled from the battle field (§ 9).

The second half of this chapter (§ 11–17) consists of a short, but very important digression. It is one of the few passages in which Ammianus gives his reader an insight into his thoughts about the future of Rome.



Without in any way belittling the gravity of the Gothic invasion, which was to culminate in the defeat at Adrianople, he protests against those who, because of their ignorance of history, think that this was the worst disaster ever to have befallen the empire. He reminds his audience of earlier invasions, from which Rome, after initial losses, had recovered, and which had led to the near or total annihilation of the invaders, in chronological order Cimbrians and Teutons, Marcomanni and Quadi, and Goths. The message of the digression is clear: history proves that Rome can overcome the worst defeats, but only if its citizens mend their decadent ways and are willing to unite in the cause of defending their country. As Lenski, 1997 has argued, this digression is not Ammianus' spontaneous reaction to the Gothic invasion, but rather a considered response to the different views of other authors, both pagans and Christians, about the causes of and possible remedies for the defeat at Adrianople.

Ammianus' effort to put Rome's present plight in a historical perspective is reminiscent of the approach taken twenty years later by Orosius at the prompting of Augustine. Both Ammianus and Orosius point to the historical facts, which show that there are plenty of precedents for the dangerous situation in which the empire found itself after Adrianople in 378 and the capture of Rome in 410. But whereas Orosius' agenda in defending the Christians against their pagan adversaries and predicting a glorious future for a Christian empire is clear, Ammianus does not offer any rosy illusions, but gives his readers a stern warning not to give in to despair, but to return to their ancient values and unite in the battle for the future of the *urbs aeterna*.

- 5.1 *At vero Thervingi iam dudum transire permissi prope ripas etiam tum vagabantur* For the combination *at vero* see TLL II 1009.50–1010.19 and Kroon, 1995, 311–312 and 365. It is a favourite expression of Cicero, who uses it 74 times. In the *Res Gestae* it occurs only here and in 29.6.18 *at vero ubi tempestas mollivit* (p. 248). In both cases *at vero* marks a contrast, here between the Greuthungi, who were refused admittance within the empire (31.4.13), and the Thervingi, who had *iam dudum* been allowed to cross the Danube (31.4.5). The latter, although the emperor had granted them permission to settle in parts of Thrace (*ibid.*), were still roaming close to the river banks, but *etiam tum* 'still (at that time)' prepares the reader for the disastrous events to come. See for the personal passive *permissi* ad 20.2.5 (p. 19).

*duplici impedimento astricti, quod ducum dissimulatione perniciosa nec victui congruis sunt adiuti et tenebantur consulto nefandis nundinandi commerciis*  
The two reasons why the situation of the Thervingi proved to be a dead

end are closely connected: the *duces* Lupicinus and Maximus (see for them and their functions ad 31.4.9, p. 74; for *dux* in a general sense, as in 31.4.11, see ad 21.7.1, p. 95 and 25.5.1, p. 171) deliberately neglected their obligation to provide the Thervingi with food, because they intended to exploit them as long as possible for their own private interests. Amm. had already strongly condemned the practices of the Roman commanders in 31.4.9–11. The plural *ducum* implies that both Lupicinus and Maximus are meant. From now on only the higher ranking Lupicinus comes to the fore. For *dissimulatio* ‘neglect’ see ad 20.4.8 (p. 71) and cf. 28.4.5 *quae probra aliaque his maiora dissimulatione iugi neglecta* (p. 177). *Tenere* is simplex pro composito *detinere*, as in section 7 below (Fritigernus) *veritus, ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris*. As was stated ad 20.6.1 (p. 137), the meaning of *congruus* has developed from ‘fit for, suitable for’ to ‘necessary for’. For *nefandus* see ad 22.11.11 (p. 212); in 31.4.11 Amm. spoke of *turpe commercium*. The verb *nundinari* (V has *nudandi* instead of *nundinandi*, as in E and A), ‘to trade’, ‘to purchase’, is a hapax in Amm.; in 14.3.3 we find *ad nundinas*, in 28.1.18 *per nundinationem*. Amm. rarely uses the coordination *nec...et*. The only parallels are 18.4.3 (quod) *nec opes eius augebat ut ceteri et domo sua non cederet* and 20.8.16 *nec barbarici sunt impetus interclusi et...hae provinciae...externis indigent adiumentis*.

*quo intellecto ad perfidiam instantium malorum subsidium verti mussabant et Lupicinus, ne iam deficerent, pertimescens eos admotis militibus adigebat ocius proficisci* V’s *vertere dimussabant* has been emended to *vertendi mussabant* by Henri de Valois, the meaning of which is unclear. Both Petschenig’s *verti insimulabant* and Accursius’ *vertere dissimulabant* are a far cry from V’s text. Sabbah’s *vertere demussabant* comes very close, but *demussare* (30.1.15), to which Sabbah refers, means ‘to swallow’, ‘to put up with’, whereas the context shows that the Goths were in fact inclined to revolt against the harsh treatment which they received from the Romans. It would, therefore, be preferable to read *ad perfidiam...vertendum mussabant*, ‘they whispered that they would have to turn to disloyalty’. Rolfe rightly takes *subsidium* as an apposition to *perfidiam*: “as a remedy for the evils that threatened them”. That *perfidia* has to be taken in this sense is confirmed by the following words *Lupicinus, ne iam deficerent, pertimescens*. Cf. for *deficere* the definition of this verb given in *Dig.* 4.5.5.1: *deficere...dicuntur, qui ab his, quorum sub imperio sunt, desistunt et in hostium numerum se conferunt* and see 31.6.3 *ad defectionem erupere confessam*. For *mussare* “to whisper (esp. discontentedly)” see OLD s.v. 1 and cf. 29.2.17 *ordine omni mussante*. Intransitive reflexive *verti ad* is common in Livy and Tacitus: Liv. 1.7.2 *ad caedem vertuntur*;

5.2

1.25.13 *ad sepulturam inde suorum...vertuntur*; 6.28.3 *ab seditione ad bellum versi*; Tac. Ann. 15.74.3 *ne...ad omen...verteretur*; 16.27.2 *patres arguebat, quod publica munia desererent eorumque exemplo equites Romani ad segnitiam verterentur*.

For *admovere* “to bring up” (OLD s.v. 3) cf. *Burgundios...admoverat Alamannis* (30.7.11). Lupicinus wanted the Thervingi to leave the Danube area speedily (*ocius*). As is noted ad 20.1.3 (p. 8), the adverb *ocius* is, in conformity with classical usage, frequently used in giving or executing orders, normally without real comparative force. It contrasts with *segnius* and *tarde* as well as with *itineribus lentis* in § 4. The *milites*, who were ordered by the *comes (rei militaris) per Thracias* Lupicinus to escort the Thervingi inland, will have come from military bases east of Dorostorus in the province Scythia, such as Succidava (Talbert 22 E4), where, at least in the time the *Notitia Dignitatum* was written, a *cuneus equitum scutariorum* was stationed (*Not. Dign. Or.* 39.12), Axiopolis (Talbert 22 F4), the headquarters of *milites superventores*, and the *cohors quinta pedatura* of the *legio secunda Herculia* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 39.21 and 30); Wanke, 1990, 127. This would help to explain *alibi militibus occupatis* in the next section. Amm. does not say where Lupicinus ordered the Thervingi to go, but in § 4 he mentions Marcianopolis as their provisional destination.

- 5.3 *Id tempus opportunum nanci Greuthungi, cum alibi militibus occupatis navigia ultro citroque discurrere solita transgressum eorum prohibentia quiescere perspexissent, ratibus transiere male contextis castraque a Fritigerno locavere longissime* As to *Id tempus*, the Thervingi had probably crossed the river in the spring or the summer of 376 (see ad 31.4.5, p. 68). The Greuthungi came later, but whether still in 376 or in the spring of 377 (so Colombo, 2007, 245 with n. 12) is not clear. For *nancisci* “to acquire (an opportunity or favourable circumstance”, OLD s.v. 2) see ad 27.2.3 (p. 18).

The soldiers, mentioned in the preceding section together with the *navigia* of the fleet (cf. ad 31.4.5), who normally patrolled the Danube, are now employed to supervise the withdrawal of the Thervingi from the borders of that river. *Ultrō citroque discurrere* either refers to a ferry, as in 22.6.4 *navigiorum magistris ultrō citroque discurrentium*, or to a patrol service up and down a river, as in 17.2.3 *lusoriis navibus (river boats) discurrere flumen ultrō citroque milites ordinavit* and in the present passage. This is the only instance of *quiescere* with a non-human subject in the *Res Gestae*.

Again, as in the case of the Thervingi, Amm. does not say where the Greuthungi crossed the Danube. Today it is generally assumed that the crossing of the Thervingi under the command of Alavivus and Fritigern

took place near Dorostorus or Durostorum in Moesia Inferior (see ad 31.4.5, p. 67). Since the Greuthungi subsequently pitched their camp *a Fritigerno... longissime*, they presumably crossed the Danube east of Dorostorus, in the province Scythia; Wanke, 1990, 127 with n. 64, Himmler, 2011, 141. The Thervingi had been better prepared for the crossing than the Greuthungi; cf. 31.4.5 *transfretabantur in dies et noctes navibus ratibusque et cavatis arborum alveis agminatim impositi*. The latter had only improvised rafts at their disposal; for *male contextis* cf. 14.2.10 *temere contextis ratibus* and 25.8.2 *ratibus temere textis*. The Greuthungi kept their distance from the Thervingi under Fritigern, either in order to avoid the impression that they intended to join forces with them, or because of a lack of cooperation between the various groups of Goths, as Colombo, 2007, 245 assumes. See for Fritigern ad 31.4.8 (p. 72). The Thervingi will be mentioned once again in section 8 of this chapter. After that Amm. speaks indiscriminately of Gothi.

*At ille genuina praevidendi sollertia venturos muniens casus, ut et imperiis oboediret et regibus validis iungeretur, incedens segnius Marcianopolim tarde pervenit itineribus lentis* Amm. portrays Fritigern as a far-sighted and shrewd commander, who inspired confidence in his followers, cf. § 7 *utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii*, 31.6.5 *laudato regis consilio, quem cogitatorum* ('plans') *norant fore socium efficacem* and 31.12.14 *Fritigernus, callidus futuri conector*. Amm. has a predilection for *genuinus* (in this book it occurs also in 2.18, 6.5, 7.15 and 15.3). The adj. either denotes innate characteristics, as in 25.4.9 *ut poenarum asperitatem genuina lenitudine castigaret* (Julian), or it refers to one's origins, as in 25.6.14 *in regionibus genuinis*; see ad 30.5.10 (pp. 120–121). The meaning of *muniens casus* (if it is correct) should be 'guarding against hazards', for which the normal expression would be *muniri* (*se munire*) + *adversus*; there is, however, one parallel: *ad muniendas vitae molestias*, Gel. 12.4.1. *Imperiis* refers not to "the emperor's commands" (as Rolfe, Seyfarth, Viansino in their translations and Wanke, 1990, 129 take it, in the wake of Wagner) but to the order given by Lupicinus to leave the area on the right border of the Danube (§ 2); note that *segnius, tarde* and *itineribus lentis* contrast with *ocius* in § 2: Fritigern may have departed from the Danube area speedily, as the Roman general had commanded, but on his march inland he advanced slowly. The *validi reges* must be leaders of the Greuthungi, who had recently crossed the river, viz. Viderichus, Alatheus, Safrax and Farnobius (31.4.12); see for the terms *rex* and *iudex* to denote leaders of the Goths Heather, 1991, 97–98, referred to in the notes ad 26.10.3 (p. 268) and 27.5.6 (pp. 115–116). Fritigern perhaps also tried already at this stage to make contact with the *Gothorum optimates* Sueridus and Colias

(31.6.1), who later joined forces with him as allies (31.6.3), and with the Taifali (cf. 31.9.3).

Marcianopolis (Talbert 22 E5), the present Devnja, had served as Valens' winter quarters during his campaign on the Danube in 366–370, and presumably still functioned as “the headquarters of the Thracian troops” (Wolfram, 1988, 120); see for this important city ad 27.4.12 (p. 96), Wanke, 1990, 133 and M. Ivanov, 2012. There was an arms factory, *Not. Dign. Or.* 11.34 and 31.6.2 (for literature on *fabricae* see ad 29.3.4, pp. 122–123). It is the only city in Moesia inferior where the archaeological record shows a relatively large amount of Gothic remains; Haralambieva, 2004. According to *Tab. Peut.* VII 2–3 the distance from Dorostorus or Durostorum, where Fritigern probably (see the previous section) began his march southwards, to Palmatis (modern Voinovo) and from there to Marcianopolis is *xiii + xlv milia passuum*; in reality it is about 120 km. It is not possible to calculate how long it took before the slowly marching Goths had covered this distance, but they probably did not reach their destination before the spring of 377. In the next section it becomes clear that Lupicinus himself also went to Marcianopolis.

*ubi aliud accessit atrocius, quod arsuras in commune exitium faces furiales accendit* For substantivized *aliud* ‘something else’ see ad 30.5.12 (p. 125). The announcement of the developments leading up to the defeat at Adrianople is made more dramatic by the fivefold alliteration *aliud accessit atrocius...arsuras...accendit*, combined with *faces furiales*, with which cf. 29.2.20 *caesorum ultimae dirae...Bellonae accenderant faces* (p. 105). The Furies are also associated with the goddess of war in the opening sentence of this book, 31.1.1 *Fortunae volucris rota...Bellonam Furiis in societatem ascitis armabat* (pp. 1–2). The adj. *commune* implies that the consequences of the disaster at Adrianople will affect the whole of the empire, not just Thrace.

- 5.5 *Alavivo et Fritigerno ad convivium corrogátis Lupicinus ab oppidi moenibus barbaram plebem opposito milite procul arcebat* As was observed ad 20.4.13 (p. 82), *corrogare* is almost a t.t. for an invitation to dinner. The composite verb helps to create a regular cursus (velox). This is the last time Alavivus appears in the *Res Gestae*; we met him before in 31.4.1 and 31.4.8. In 31.4.1 (p. 54) only Alavivus was mentioned, whereas in 31.4.8 and in the present text he and Fritigern are coupled. When Iord. *Get.* 135 speaks about the *convivium*, Alavivus is not mentioned at all: *contigit etenim illo sub tempore erumnoso, Lupicinus, ut ductor Romanorum, Fritigernum Gothorum regulum*

*in convivium invitaret dolumque ei, ut post exitus docuit, moliretur.* One wonders whether the two Gothic leaders were aware of the risks involved in accepting the invitation to come to Marcianopolis. According to Jordanes they were not (or rather, Fritigern was not, for he does not mention Alavivus, as we have seen): *Fritigernus dolum nescius cum paucorum comitatu ad convivium veniens* (*Get.* 136). The reader of the *Res Gestae* is reminded of what had happened earlier on similar quasi-festive occasions to the kings Vado-marius (21.4.2–5), Gabinius (29.6.5, p. 230) and Papa 30.1.19–22 (pp. 21–25). The present passage is different insofar as Amm., contrary to Jordanes in the passage just quoted, does not explicitly mention evil intent on the part of the Romans. Modern scholars have very different opinions. Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 405 could not believe that a Roman general would be so villainous (“Daß Lupicinus von vornherein den Plan gehabt, die Gotenfürsten verräterischerweise in seine Gewalt zu bringen, ist unglaublich”). He thought that the Gothic leaders had been invited “zur Herbeiführung einer Versöhnung”. Heather, 1991, 132 is less convinced of the general’s noble intentions (“Lupicinus seems always to have had in mind some mischief”).

*introire ad comparanda victui necessaria ut dicioni nostrae obnoxiam et concordem per preces assidue postulantem* For *victui necessaria* ‘necessaries’ cf. 26.3.6 *inopia victui congruentium* (p. 73). The classical expression is *victus necessarius*, as in *Caes. Civ.* 1.69.1 *nostros necessarii victus inopia coactos*, or *ad victum necessarius*, *Cic. Off.* 2.74 *ut earum rerum copia sit quae sunt ad victum necessariae*. Note that Amm. portrays the Goths as initially submissive and non-aggressive; cf. 31.4.9–11, where he lays the blame for the later hostilities on the Roman commanders Lupicinus and Maximus.

*ortisque maioribus iurgiis inter habitatores et vetitos ad usque necessitatem pugnandi est ventum* Cf. *Tac. Ann.* 4.3.2 *orto forte iurgio*; 13.9.2 *hinc ortum inter praefectum et centurionem iurgium*. Whereas substantivized use of *vetitum* is quite common, for instance in the phrase *contra vetitum*, substantivized *vetitus* seems to be without parallel. Still, it is easy to supply from the context (Gothos) *vetitos* (introire oppidum), so that there is no reason to change the text. For *necessitas pugnandi* cf. *Liv.* 21.43.5 *fortuna, quae necessitatem pugnandi imposuit*. Amm. probably means that, since a compromise between the Goths and the citizens of Marcianopolis was out of the question, the dispute got out of hand and could only end in fighting, although neither party had really planned this; Amm.’s use of the impersonal passive *est ventum* is therefore deliberate.

*efferatique acrius barbari, cum necessitudines hostiliter rapi sentirent, spoliarent interfectam manum militum magnam* The adj. *efferatus* is used often, but not exclusively, of barbarians; Seager 56. The comparative *acrius* means that the Goths were even more ferocious than they normally were, when they saw that their kinsmen (*necessitudines*) were carried off. For *raper* see ad 21.4.1 (p. 42) and cf. 28.1.8 *ut...ilico rapti compingerentur in vincula*, 28.1.56 (Aginatius) *sublimis raptus occiditur* (p. 111). The verb *spoliare* has its full meaning ‘to strip of arms’; cf. 31.5.9 *hostes armis induti Romanis*, 31.6.3 (the Goths) *habitu iam Romano cadaveribus spoliatis armati* and 31.13.12 *hostium enim paucis spoliandi gratia mortuos per ea loca diu versatis* (“A few of the enemy were hanging about the field for some time to strip the dead”, tr. Hamilton).

V reads *interfectam militum magnam* (one letter erased) *Quae accedens*. Lindenbrog’s addition of *manum* is palaeographically attractive as an instance of haplography, and Amm. combines *militum* and *manu(s)* also in 16.2.1, 26.7.8 and 31.11.6. Češka proposed *manum militum magnam* for the sake of the cursus (*planus*). Lindenbrog’s emendation *accidisse* for V’s *accedens* is equally attractive in view of 31.3.4 *haec...accidisse doctus*.

- 5.6 *quae accidisse idem Lupicinus latenti nuntio doctus, dum in nepotali mensa ludicris concrepantibus diu discumbens vino marcebat et somno* With anaphoric *idem* Amm. reminds the reader of Lupicinus’ role in the preceding text. For *latenti nuntio* ‘in a secret message’ cf. 27.12.14 *per latentes nuntios* (‘through secret messengers’); TLL VII 2.997.81–998.17. The only other instance of the adj. *nepotalis* is Apul. *Met.* 2.2 *in luxum nepotalem*. For the (uncertain) text see Van Mal-Maeder, 1998, 75. Like other derivatives of *nepos* in the sense of “spendthrift”, “playboy” (OLD s.v. 4), such as *nepotari* and *nepotatus*, it denotes extravagant luxury. The scene of the banquet recalls 30.1.20 (pp. 22–24), the dinner party during which king Papa was murdered: *ludicris concrepantibus* corresponds with (cum) *aedes amplae nervorum et articulato flatilique sonitu resultarent*, and (Lupicinus) *vino marcebat et somno* with *iam vino incalescente ipso convivii domino*. For *ludicrum* ‘entertainment’ cf. 14.6.18 *pro philosopho cantor et in locum oratoris doctor artium ludicarum accitur* and 14.7.3 (Gallus) *ludicris cruentis delectabatur*. For *marcere* cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1.5.45 *nec iuvat in lucem nimio marcescere vino* (“I take no pleasure in steeping myself in wine until daylight”, tr. Wheeler) and see ad 21.12.15 (p. 170).

*futuri coniciens exitum satellites omnes, qui pro praetorio honoris et tutelae causa duces praestolabantur, occidit* Lupicinus was probably afraid that the

guardians of Alavivus and Fritigern might spring into action as soon as they heard about the fighting outside the walls of Marcianopolis, and therefore decided to pre-empt their attack. For *futuri exitus* cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.29–30 *prudens futuri temporis exitum / caliginosa nocte premit deus* (“God in his providence hides future events in murky darkness”, tr. Rudd). In his note ad 16.12.58 De Jonge observes that the term *satellites* “undoubtedly alludes to the Teutonic ‘Gefolgschaft’” (p. 281). *Praetorium* in Late Antiquity most often denotes either the headquarters of a military commander, as in the present text, or the residence of an emperor or that of a provincial governor; cf. the literature cited ad 28.1.36 (p. 77), where the word refers to the residence of a *vicarius urbis Romae*.

For the rare verb *praestolari* ‘to wait for’ see ad 24.7.8 (p. 221). In Jordanes’ version (*Get.* 136) Fritigern heard the cries of his dying companions (*clamorem miserorum morientium*), while Lupicinus’ soldiers were trying to kill them (*dum milites ducis sui iussu trucidare conarentur*); they were kept in another part of the building (*in alia parte socios eius reclausos*).

*hocque populus, qui muros obsidebat, dolenter accepto ad vindictam detentorum regum, ut opinabatur, paulatim augescens multa minabatur et saeva. utque erat Fritigernus expediti consilii, veritus, ne teneretur obsidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipse ad leniendum vulgus sineretur exire cum sociis* The *populus* and the *vulgus* of the present text are identical with the *plebs* of § 5. For adverbial *dolenter* ‘indignantly’ cf. 22.5.5 *dolenter dicitur exclamasse* and see ad 29.5.55 (p. 218); TLL V 1.1831 3 sqq. The Goths obviously and understandably suspected that their leaders (see for *rex* ad § 4) were held as prisoners or hostages by Lupicinus. *Paulatim augescens* conveys the image of a steadily rising river. As was stated ad § 4 above, Amm. considers Fritigern a highly competent leader. For *expeditus* used of mental qualities cf. 15.10.11 *expeditae mentis et callidae* (Hannibal), 29.6.16 *dux virtutis...expeditae* (Theodosius junior), 30.7.11 *expeditae mentis* (Valentinian). Seyfarth in his n. 54 ad loc. points to Tac. *Hist.* 4.42.5 *reservate hominem tam expediti consilii* as the inspiration.

5.7

Amm. uses *vice* ‘as’ on two other occasions, 21.5.9 (p. 63) and 23.6.6 *numinis eum vice venerantur*. There are notes on *obsides* ad 27.9.7 (p. 216) and 29.5.9 (pp. 165–166). Add to the literature cited there Kosto, 2013. The expression *graviore...exitio*, for which cf. 30.1.5 *impendere sibi praesagibat exitium grave* and August. *c. Cresc.* 3.66 *graviora exitia comminantem*, is rightly brought under the heading “de urbibus, regionibus, gentibus sim.” in TLL V 2.1530.59. Fritigern threatens that the outcome of the imminent battle will be fatal for the Romans. For *lenire* cf. 19.10.3 *qua miseratione vulgus...lenitum conticuit*.



*quod arbitratum humanitatis specie ductores suos occisos in tumultum exarsit* The antecedent of *quod* is of course *vulgus*. The different shades of meaning of *humanitas* are discussed ad 21.6.4 (pp. 82–83); cf. also 29.6.5 *Gabinium regem...humanitate simulata cum aliis ad convivium corrogavit* and for *humanitatis specie* cf. 25.8.1 *Et pax specie humanitatis indulta in perniciem est versa multorum*. Since Amm. has just said that the Goths outside the walls of Marcianopolis believed that their leaders were either held hostage or kept in prison, the relative clause must be taken as rendering the words of Fritigern. For *exardescere* cf. Tac. *Hist* 1.64.2 *prope in proelium exarsere* and see ad 28.6.1 (p. 257). Seager 62–63 notes that *exardescere* is used seventeen times in Tacitus and five times in the HA.

*hocque impetrato egressi omnes exceptique cum plausu et gaudiis ascensis equis volarunt moturi incitamenta diversa bellorum* With *hoc...impetrato* Amm. refers to *sineretur exire cum sociis*, in other words, to the fact that Lupicinus permitted Fritigern to leave. In Jordanes' version (*Get.* 136) Fritigern did not wait for Lupicinus' permission, but brought the escape of the Goths about sword in hand: *ilico aperto dolo cognoscens Fritigernus evaginato gladio e convivio non sine magna temeritate velocitateque egreditur suosque socios ab imminente morte ereptos ad necem Romanorum instigat*. The use of the word *omnes* implies, strictly speaking, that Alavivus was among them (see for him above, ad § 5); cf. Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 441: "Fritigern, der zusammen mit Alaviv...entkommen konnte". However, the fact that Alavivus is never mentioned again has puzzled scholars. Cf. e.g. Burns, 1980, 44; Heather, 1991, 137 (Fritigern "did a deal with Lupicinus which left Alavivus in Roman hands"); Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 416 ("peut-être a-t-il disparu lors de la bataille?"); Lenski, 2002, 328 ("one can assume that he was captured or murdered").

Henri de Valois proposed to read *evolarunt* instead of V's *volarunt*. For *evolare* "accedente evadendi notione fere i.q. effugere" see TLL V 2.1065.21–50. The compositum seems preferable in view of 23.2.3 *quo comperto omnes evolant ex hibernis*, 30.1.15 *post terga relictis militibus evolavit* and 30.3.2 *moxque veris per eum nuntiis gestorum acceptis evolare protinus festinarat*. Seyfarth and Sabbah kept V's *volarunt*, possibly c.c. However, *equus* is often trisyllabic in Amm.; Harmon 226. The phrase *moturi incitamenta diversa bellorum* seems to combine two thoughts: 'to start a war', as in 14.10.16 *cum autem bella moverentur externa*, and 'to urge to war in different places'.

- 5.8 *haec ubi fama, rumorum nutrix maligna, dispersit, urebatur dimicandi studio Thervingorum natio omnis* Sometimes Amm. does not differentiate

between *rumor* and *fama*, as in 21.15.5 *fama tamen rumorque loquebatur incertus*, Caes. *Gal.* 6.20.1 *si quis quid de re p. a finitimis rumore ac fama acceperit* and Tac. *Ag.* 33.3 *finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus*. At other times *fama* is personified and acts as the messenger of *rumor*, e.g. in 15.5.24 (Ursicinus hastens to arrive in Cologne before any rumour reaches Silvanus, *ante allapsum...ullum rumorem*, but) *cursim nos properantes...antevolans prodiderat fama*. For *fama* fostering rumours cf. 21.9.3 *fama vero, quae mille, ut aiunt, linguis rerum mire exaggerat fidem* (p. 118). See in general on rumours 21.3.4 (pp. 37–38), 25.6.6 (pp. 207–208), 28.1.27 (p. 61), 29.5.2 (p. 155), Sabbah 397–398 and ad 31.3.2 (pp. 41–42). For *urere* cf. 22.12.2 *urebatur autem bellandi gemino desiderio* and see ad 20.4.1 (p. 54).

This is the last time that the Thervingi are named by Amm. as a separate group, while it was in § 3 that we found the Greuthungi as such for the last time (the Greuthungi are further mentioned in 27.5.6, 31.3.1, 3.5, 4.12, the Thervingi, apart from the present text, in 31.3.4 and 5.1). From now on we find as the only designations for the invaders *Gothi* or *barbari*. Amm.'s "generalization was probably intentional, designed to convey his awareness that the group had metamorphosed into a heterogeneous agglomeration of ethnicities. These included Goths, Taifals, Huns, Alans, and Romans" (Lenski, 2002, 331 with n. 67).

*et inter metuenda multa periculorumque praevia maximorum vexillis de more sublatis auditisque triste sonantibus classicis iam turmae praedatoriae concursabant pilando villas et incendendo vastisque cladibus, quidquid inveniri poterat, permiscentes* It was in 377, according to *Consul. Constant.* a. 377, that the Goths started their rebellion: *His cons.* (i.e. Gratiano IIII et Merobaude) *gens Gothorum, qui pro misericordia suscepti sunt, rebellaverunt adversus Romanos*. For the substantivized gerund *metuendus* see TLL VIII 906.71–77. *Praevius* is found frequently in Late Latin prose, according to TLL X 2.1115.49–50. The expression *vexillis sublatis* (also 24.6.5 *sublato vexillo*) is unparalleled in classical authors. In 26.6.16 Amm. writes *multitudine stipatus armorum signisque sublatis erectius ire pergebat* (Procopius), which is the usual formula for the beginning of military action; see further ad 27.10.9 (pp. 239–240). Note that the term *vexillum* in the *Res Gestae* normally refers to the Roman army (see ad 15.5.16 [pp. 96–98], 20.5.1 [p. 115], 20.6.3 [pp. 139–140], and Alexandrescu, 2010). Here it is used of barbarian flags or banners, as in 19.11.10 *vexillo elato repente barbarico* (as Müller, 1905, 610 observed, some of the Roman *vexilla*, notably the *draco*, were of barbarian origin). For the sound of the clarion call cf. 16.12.45 *torvumque canentibus*

*classicis* with De Jonge's note on pp. 260–261, Hor. *Epod.* 2.5 *neque excitatur classico miles truci* and Alexandrescu, 2010 with n. 396. Cf. further ad 24.6.11 (p. 189) and note that here too, as in the case of *vexillis...sublatis*, the reference is to the Gothic forces. Normally *turma* refers to a Roman cavalry unit (see ad 23.3.4, pp. 40–41 and ad 31.4.7, p. 71), but it is used occasionally of enemy forces, e.g. 24.6.8 *Contra haec Persae obiecerunt instructas catafractorum equitum turmas* and 31.13.5. The verb *permiscere* often “spectat ad rem delendam” (TLL X 1.1546.17); cf. 31.8.6 (also about the Goths) *rapinis et caedibus sanguineque et incendiis et liberorum corporum corruptelis omnia foedissime permiscentes*.

Eunapius also complains about the devastation of the countryside by the Goths: ἡ δὲ χώρα καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἀπανάλωται, καὶ ἔστιν ἀοίκητον καὶ ἄβατον διὰ τὸν πόλεμον (“the countryside was for the most part devastated and it remains uninhabited and untravelled as a result of the war”, *fr.* 42, p. 62 Blockley). See for damage to *villae* in Thrace and Moesia in the period around 377, apart from Lenski, 2002, 328 n. 47, T. Ivanov, 1983, 145–148; Von Bülow, 1992, esp. 210; Poulter, 2007, 51, 79–82; Heather 2007, 188 (“No villas, it seems, survived in and around the Haemus mountains after the Gothic raids of the period 376–382”).

- 5.9 *Adversus quos Lupicinus properatione tumultuaria coactis militibus temere magis quam consulte progressus in nono ab urbe miliario stetit paratus ad discernendum* For *tumultuarius* ‘hurried’, ‘haphazard’ cf. 24.2.18 *His raptim ac tumultuarie agitat* (pp. 61–62) and see ad 24.5.3 (p. 153) and 25.6.4 (p. 204). For *consulte* ‘prudently’ cf. *ferocius quam consultius pugnabatur* (19.2.13), *partes...ferocientes magisquam consultius elatis clamoribus ferebantur* (21.12.5). *Stetit* is a form of *sistere* ‘to take up a stand’ (OLD s.v. 4e), as in 16.12.15 *nec visus est quisquam laris sui defensor nec obuius stetit*.

Amm. is clearly critical of Lupicinus’ preparations for the battle against the Thervingi. Whereas in 31.4.9 Lupicinus, *per Thracias comes*, operated together with Maximus, *dux* (*Scythiae* or *Moesiae Inferioris/Secundae*, p. 74), in this chapter only Lupicinus is mentioned. Jordanes *Get.* 137 still refers also to Maximus as a target for the Goths: *et ilico in ducum Lupicini et Maximi armantur occisione*.

For *in nono ab urbe miliario*, that is, fourteen km from Marcianopolis, cf. 21.9.6 *Bononiam a Sirmio miliario nono disparatam* and see ad 24.2.3 (p. 33). For the construction with *in* instead of the single abl. cf. Eutr. 1.8.1 *in octavo decimo miliario ab urbe Roma* and *Consul. Constant.* a. 364 *Constantinopolim in miliario VII* with the commentary of Becker and Nickbakht in Becker et al., 2016, 117. Although Amm.’s expression at first sight seems rather precise, it

is nevertheless a matter of speculation where exactly Lupicinus took up his position, because Amm. fails to mention more details. Marcianopolis (see for this city above, ad § 4) was situated at the intersection of two important roads, one from Dorostorus to Anchialos, the other west-east from Melta to Odessos (Wanke 1990, 133). Was the locality spoken of to the west, north, east or south of the city? See for *decernere* as a synonym of *pugnare* ad 20.11.12 (p. 265) and cf. 31.12.8 *necessaria...ad decernendum*.

*barbarique hoc contemplato globos irrupere nostrorum incauti et parmas oppositis corporibus illidendo obvios hastis perforabant et gladiis* Amm. uses both *contemplare* and *contemplari*, cf. 18.2.10 *quod hostes sollertissime contemplati*; see for the use of *contemplare* “apud posteriores” TLL IV 651.41 sqq. For *globus* see De Jonge ad 16.12.49 *optimatum globus...agmina nostrorum irrupit* (p. 265) and 20.5.1 (p. 115). Bitter 125 n. 377 points out that *globus* is used both of well trained Roman troops and of barbarians and robbers. *Irrumpere* ‘to force one’s way into’ is always used transitively in Amm. Petschenig was certainly right in defending V’s *incauti*. Recklessness is a characteristic of barbarians, cf. 27.10.13 *hinc arte belli doctior miles* (sc. Romanus), *inde licet feroces, sed incauti barbari dexteris coiere collatis* (pp. 246–247).

Since the *barbari* are the subject throughout this sentence, we must suppose that they are the ones who dash their own round shield, *parma*, against the body of their opponents, using it as a sort of thrusting weapon, rather than interpreting the *parmae* as the shields, which the Romans dash against their own bodies, as Rolfe and Müller, 1905, 605 seem to take it. Another instance of *parma* in the hands of barbarians is 29.5.39 (pp. 198–199), where we read about Ethiopian troops clashing their shields against their knees (*parmas genibus illidentes*) to show their readiness for battle. For the loose way in which Amm. uses the terms *scutum*, *clipeus* and *parma* see ad 21.2.1 (p. 25). For substantivized *obvius* ‘adversary’ cf. 14.2.5 *obvius eminus lacessens et ululatu truci perterrens*; 31.7.10 (quo) *rotarum modo obvios impetu convolverent acriore*.

*furoreque urgente cruento et tribuni et pleraque pars armatorum periere signis ereptis praeter duce infaustum, qui ad id solum intentus, ut confligentibus aliis proriperet ipse semet in fugam, urbem cursu concito petit* As was noted ad 31.8.9 (p. 151), *tribunus* is a title often used loosely for all commanding officers. For *armati* as a synonym of *milites* see ad 20.4.22 (p. 109). Ad 25.1.8 (p. 17) it is observed that, although the technical meaning of a *signum* is to be distinguished from that of an *aquila*, a *vexillum* and a *draco*, Amm. some-

times uses the plural *signa* more broadly for all kinds of military banners and standards. This seems to be the case here too. See further for literature on standards and banners ad 15.5.16 (pp. 96–98), 20.5.1 (p. 115) and 24.3.1 (pp. 71–72). The loss of a standard (cf. 24.3.1 *unum rapuisse vexillum*) was of course a disgrace, as e.g. Caesar in *Civ.* 3.71.2 and 3.74.1 makes clear: *signaque sunt militaria amissa XXXII...nonnullos signiferos ignominia notavit ac loco movit*. For a contrast see Flor. *Epit.* 4.4.5 (Octavius Caesar) *cruentus et saucius aquilam a moriente signifero traditam suis umeris in castra referebat*.

Lupicinus together with a comrade-in-arms made his appearance in the *Res Gestae* with a conspicuous act of bravery during a battle against the Alamanni (*prompte ante alios praeiere duo iuvenes lecti in principii adeundi discriminis Salvius et Lupicinus*, 27.10.12). In 31.4.9 (p. 74) Amm. blames him and his colleague Maximus for their despicable treatment of the Goths and calls them contemptuously *homines maculosi*. Now he leaves the stage as a *dux infaustus* after a disgraceful act of cowardice (for the expression cf. 24.7.3, p. 210). Can this really be one and the same person? The expression *cursu concito*, a variation on the more common *concito gradu*, is found for the first time in Apul. *Met.* 4.2 *cursu me concito proripio*. In all probability Lupicinus galloped away, never to return to the *Res Gestae* again.

*post quae hostes armis induti Romanis nullo vetante per varia grassabantur* Jordanes (*Get.* 137) also reports that from now on the Goths held absolute sway over Thrace: *ceperunt...Gothi iam non ut advenae et peregrini, sed ut cives et domini possessoribus imperare totasque partes septentrionales usque ad Danubium suo iuri tenere*. The relevant words in Hier. *Chron.* a. 377 are laconic, as is to be expected from the author of a chronicle: *superatis in congressione Romanis Gothi funduntur in Thracia*, while Eunapius (*fr.* 42, p. 62 Blockley) sketches the impact of the Gothic revolt in the most striking colours: ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θράκη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ συνεχῆς αὐτῇ χώρα Μακεδονία καὶ Θετταλία τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι καὶ οὕτω πολυύμνητος ὥστε οὐδὲ εἰς κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναγράφειν ὁ λόγος ἦν. τοσαύτην δὲ οὖσαν αὐτὴν καὶ οὕτω πολυάνθρωπον, εὐδαιμονά τε ἄμα καὶ εὐάνδρον, ἡ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἄπιστος καὶ παράλογος ἐπανάστασις ἐξαπιναίως καὶ παραχρῆμα τῆς διαβάσεως συντολμηθεῖσα καὶ ἀνοιδήσασα κατεστόρεσεν ἐς τοσόνδε καὶ καθημάξευσε ταῖς συμφοραῖς ὥστε χρυσὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι πρὸς τὰ Θράκια πάθη τὴν Μυσῶν παροιμιώδη λείαν. δόξαν δ' αὐτοῖς στασιάζειν ἀξιομάχου μὴ παρούσης δυνάμεως ἐς ἄμυναν, τῷ τε πλῆθει πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀφυλάκτους καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐφάνησαν φοβερῶτατοι καὶ τῷ φονικωτάτῳ πρὸς τὸ κρατούμενον πάντα ἀνδρῶν ἐχέρωσαν ("The whole of Thrace and neighbouring Macedonia and Thessaly are so beautiful and far-

famed that no one description does justice to them. Such it was, so populous, so rich and full of men, when the treacherous and unexpected revolt of the Scythians, a venture which suddenly developed immediately after the crossing, reduced it to such a state and crushed it under such misfortunes that the proverbial plundering of Mysia was heaven compared with the sufferings of Thrace. When they decided to revolt, there was in the vicinity no force strong enough to contain them. Their numbers caused great panic in the unprotected and unarmed civilian population, and the areas which they overran were depopulated as a result of their murderous behaviour”, tr. Blockley, slightly adapted). Note that Eunapius completely ignores Lupicinus’ behaviour in and near Marcianopolis, as does Zosimus (4.20.7), who follows Eunapius in stating that the Goths started their revolt the moment they had crossed the Danube: Καὶ ἅμα τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους γῆς ἐπιβάντες οὔτε ἱκεσιῶν οὔτε ὅρκων ἐμνήσθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἡ Θράκη τε ἅπασα καὶ ἡ Παιονία καὶ τὰ μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας ἐπληροῦντο βαρβάρων τὰ προσπεσόντα ληζομένων (‘As soon as the Goths had set foot on Roman soil they forgot both their pleas and their oaths. They filled all of Thrace, Paeonia and the land as far as Macedonia and Thessaly with barbarians, pillaging all that came their way’). Note further that Eunapius and Zosimus also differ from Amm. in an important other respect. Whereas in Amm.’s narrative the Goths before the battle of Adrianople ransacked only Thrace, they depopulated according to Eunapius and Zosimus other regions too, Macedonia and Thessaly (Eunapius), Macedonia, Thessaly and Paeonia (Zosimus). The addition by Zosimus of Paeonia (i.e. Pannonia, see ad 31.1.4, pp. 8–10) is suspect (“évidemment...un ajout automatique et irréféléchi”, Paschoud n. 143 on p. 376), as is the mentioning of Macedonia and Thessaly (“La géographie d’Eunape est...sujette à caution, comme toujours”, Paschoud, *ibid.*).

Whenever the Goths have the upper hand, they strip the Romans of their weapons, cf. 31.5.5 *spoliarunt interfectam manum militum magnam* and 31.6.3 *habitu iam Romano cadaveribus spoliatis armati*; cf. also 31.13.12. For the phrase *nullo vetante*, which does not occur before Amm., see ad 22.5.3 (p. 58). For *per varia*, ‘in all directions’, found only (and quite often) in Amm. see ad 27.9.7 (p. 215). As TLL VI 2198.48 notes *grassari* is used of men “qui praedandi causa vagantur”.

Much has been written about the short digression that follows, for which see the introduction to this chapter. Apart from Lenski, 1997, mentioned there, see Rosen, 1992, 85–86; Brodka, 1998, 60–63; Barnes 175–176; Kelly 282–284. Older literature on the subject is cited by Lenski, 1997, 162 n. 101. For the

5.10–17

comparison between Ammianus and Orosius, see Siniscalco, 1989, 360 and Van Nuffelen 2012, 81–82.

- 5.10 *Et quoniam ad has partes post multiplices ventum est actus, id lecturos, si qui erunt umquam, obtestamur, ne quis a nobis scrupulose gesta vel numerum exigat peremptorum, qui comprehendere nullo genere potuit* Amm. uses *partes* for parts of his own work in 15.11.16 *et quoniam ad has partes opere contexto pervenimus*. For *actus*, which is especially frequent in Late Latin (TLL I 453.3 sqq.), see ad 21.8.1 (pp. 107–108). Similar modest authorial statements are 14.6.2 *Et quoniam mirari posse quosdam peregrinos existimo haec lecturos forsitan (si contigerit)* and 28.1.15 *et quoniam existimo forsitan aliquos haec lecturos*. *Id* is the object of *obtestamur*. The adverb *scrupulose* is best taken with *exigat*, since Amm. uses it several times of painstaking investigations, as in 16.7.9 *scrupulosus quidam lector antiquitatum*, 17.3.4 *scrupulose computando*, 28.4.24 *ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata*, 30.2.9 *Iustitiae vigor, aliquotiens serus, sed scrupulosus quaesitor gestorum*. For *comprehendere* cf. 22.15.25 *Aegyptias alites, quarum varietas nullo comprehendere numero potest*, 28.1.14 *quorum nec diversitas comprehendere nec numerus potest*.

Amm.'s words about the number of men slain in battle resemble those of Hdn. 2.15.6 (τὸν τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν πεσόντων ἀριθμὸν στρατιωτῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, cf. 3.7.6 and ad 26.1.11, pp. 11–12), where Herodian refers to those authors who have given this and other such information in their accounts of the life of Septimius Severus. Herodian himself wants to relate the emperor's most important actions, τὰ κορυφαϊότατα...τῶν...πεπραγμένων (2.15.7). Cf. Amm.'s *rerum...summitates* in the next sentence, and see Sabbah 76–78, esp. 78 with n. 75. Note, however, that Amm. is not reluctant to pass information of this sort on to his readers when he does have it at his disposal: (Sapor) *triginta milia perdidit bellatorum, quae paulo postea per Discenen tribunum et notarium numerata sunt* (19.9.9).

*sufficiet enim veritate nullo velata mendacio ipsas rerum digerere summitates, cum explicandae rerum memoriae ubique debeat integritas fida* Amm. repeats his historiographical credo, formulated in 26.1.1 (pp. 1–13), with the central notions of *veritas*, *rerum summitates* (possibly an allusion to Verg. A. 1.342 *summa sequar fastigia rerum*) and *integritas fida*, or *fides integra rerum* as he had said in the earlier programmatic statement 16.1.3. The present declaration also anticipates the well-known epilogue in 31.16.9, where Amm. declares that he had written his work *numquam, ut arbitror, sciens silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio*.

*negant antiquitatum ignari tantis malorum tenebris offusam aliquando fuisse rem publicam, sed falluntur malorum recentium stupore confixi* For *antiquitas* see De Jonge ad 16.7.8 (pp. 76–77) and Pellizzari, 2003. In the sg. it means ‘Antiquity’, as in 20.6.9 *id munimentum* (Singara) *opportune locavit antiquitas*, 22.8.35 *visis antiquitatis vestigiis*, 29.2.18 *ut exemplum est illud antiquitati admodum notum*. The pl. *antiquitates* refers to ‘(works of) ancient historians’, as in 16.7.8 *antiquitates replicando complures invenire non potui*, 16.7.9, 17.5.5, 22.4.6, 26.10.15. Both Constantius (21.13.13 *et ipse expertus et docente antiquitate facile credo*) and Julian (23.5.21 *haec ut antiquitatum peritus exposui*) pride themselves in their speeches on their knowledge of history, whereas Amm. describes Valens as an *ignoramus* in this respect (30.4.2 *subagreste ingenium nullius vetustatis lectionibus expolitur*). People who do not know their own history naively think that recent dangers are without precedent, cf. 26.6.19 *ignari forsitan exemplorum accidisse primitus arbitrantes* (‘possibly because these people have no knowledge of precedents and think that this is the first time such things have happened’), but Amm. knows better. Cf. Lenski, 1997, 162: “From the perspective of the historian, Ammianus could see beyond the immediate panic of a disaster that was not unique to the sort of reinvigoration Rome had always experienced. For Eunapius, Ambrose, Jerome and Rufinus, this was not the case. Indeed, it is for contemporaries like these that Ammianus writes”. See Rufin. *hist.* 11.13 (the battle of Adrianople) *quae pugna initium mali Romano imperio tunc et deinceps fuit* (Rufinus wrote his continuation of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* around 402/403); Hier. *epist.* 60.16 *Romanus orbis ruit* (Jerome wrote this letter in 396); Ambr. *exc. Sat.* 1.30 (written in 378) *raptus est, ne totius orbis excidia, mundi finem...videret* (‘My brother has died, in order not to have to see the destruction of the whole empire, the end of the world’); Ambr. *fid.* 2.137–138 (written in the winter of 378/379) *et futuram nostri depopulationem et bella Gothorum Ezechiel illo iam tempore profetavit...Gog iste Gothus est, quem iam videmus exisse* (‘Ezechiel already prophesied in that time both our future destruction and the wars of the Goths...That wretched Gog is the Goth whom we now see to have come forth’, tr. Lenski); Ambr. *in Luc.* 10.10 (written c. 388) *verborum autem caelestium nulli magis quam nos testes sumus, quos mundi finis invenit...quia in occasu saeculi sumus, praecedunt quaedam aegritudines mundi* (‘None are witnesses to the heavenly words more than we, whom the end of the world has found...Since we are at the end of time, certain sicknesses of the world must go before the end’, tr. Lenski, adapted). As to Eunapius, Lenski, 1997, 156 n. 80 admits that “we have no idea what Eunapius said regarding Adrianople since no surviving fragment of the *Histories* gives us any indication”, but according to him Zos.



4.21.1–3 is “apparently relying on Eunapius” (p. 156); see for Zosimus’ words ad 31.11.1 (p. 183).

The verb *offundere* is used in its literal sense ‘to cover’ in 20.3.5 *offunditur densioribus tenebris caelum*. Its metaphorical use is much more frequent, as in Cic. *Dom.* 137 *in naufragio rei publicae tenebris offusis* (“when a cloud of gloom was shed about us, when the Roman people were sunk beneath the waves”, tr. Watts). The iunctura *stupore confixus* is an unparalleled variation on the usual *stupore defixus*.

*namque si superiores vel recens praeteritae revolvantur aetates, tales tamque tristes rerum motus saepe contigisse monstrabunt* For *revolvere* “to go back over (past events) in thought or speech” (OLD s.v. 2c) cf. Verg. *A.* 2.101 *set quid ego haec autem nequiquam ingrata revolve?* and V. Max. 6.9.5 *cuius si superior aetas revolvatur, multi lusus, multae deliciae reperiantur*, where *superior aetas* refers to the youth of Q. Catulus. In the present passage *superior aetas* refers to the republican period and *recens praeteritae aetates* to imperial times; cf. 23.5.17 *ut a vetustate discedam, haec, quae tradidit recens memoria, replicabo*; and see Eigler, 2003, 91–96. For *rerum motus* cf. Tac. *Ann.* 4.32.2 *non tamen sine usu fuerit introspicere illa primo aspectu levia, ex quibus magnarum saepe rerum motus oriuntur*. The subject of *monstrabunt* is *aetates*, which is short for ‘(the history of) bygone times’.

- 5.12 *inundarunt Italiam ex abditis oceani partibus Teutones repente cum Cimbri, sed post inflictas rei Romanae clades immensas ultimis proeliis per duces amplissimos superati, quid potestas Martia adhibita prudentia valet, radicitus extirpati discriminibus didicere supremis* The Greek and Latin sources for the early history of the Teutones (or Teutoni) and Cimbri, and for their confrontation with the Romans are conveniently put together and translated into German by Goetz and Welwei, 1995, I, 201–271. Cf. in general for these peoples Dietz, 1997 and Wiegels, 2002 with the literature cited there, to which can be added e.g. Evans, 2005 and Kritzinger, 2014. Of special interest is Florus’ account in *Epit.* 1.38.1–3 *Cimbri Teutoni atque Tigurini ab extremis Galliae profugi, cum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quaerebant*. The parallel with the Gothic invasion is striking, because according to Florus the Cimbri and the Teutoni, like the Goths, asked for permission to settle on Roman soil in exchange for service in the Roman army: *exclusique et Gallia et Hispania cum in Italiam demigrarent, misere legatos in castra Silani, inde ad senatum petentes ut Martius populus* (the Romans) *aliquid sibi terrae daret quasi stipendium, ceterum ut vellet manibus atque armis suis uteretur*. One should be aware, however, that

the ancient authors only had limited knowledge “über Motive und Ziele der wandernden Cimbri und Teutoni zu Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.” (Wiegels, 2002, 210). For the traditional comparison of an invading army to a torrent see ad 20.5.5 *velut incitatos torrentes hostes abruptius inundantes superastis* (p. 123), where Iust. 38.4.15 is quoted: *Cimbros...more procellae inundasse Italiam*. As to *clades immensas*, one can think of the defeats of Papirius Carbo in 113 B.C. (Liv. *per.* 63; Str. 5.1.8, 7.2.1–3; App. *Gall. fr.* 13; Broughton, 1951, 535), M. Iunius Silanus in 109 or 108 B.C. (Liv. *per.* 65; Broughton, 1951, 545), M. Aurelius Scaurus in 105 B.C. (Liv. *per.* 67; Broughton, 1951, 557) and Cn. Mallius Maximus and Q. Servilius Caepio near Arausio also in 105 B.C. (Liv. *per.* 67; Broughton, 1951, 555 and 557; 1986, 132 and 194). The *amplissimi duces* who won the ‘final battles’ are C. Marius and Q. Lutatius Catulus. Marius defeated the Teutoni (and the Ambrones) near Aquae Sextiae in 102 B.C. (Liv. *per.* 68; Broughton, 1951, 567), and together with Catulus the Cimbri near Vercellae in 101 B.C. (ibid.; Broughton, 1951, 570–571); cf. for *duces* as “Repräsentanten der Alten Römischen Geschichte” Eigler, 2003, 12–13. The words *adhibita prudentia* probably refer to the tactics of Marius, who waited until the rage of the barbarians had spent itself before joining battle with them (Flor. *Epit.* 1.38.5). For the use of the indic. in indirect questions see Szantyr 538 and the notes ad 14.6.2 (p. 89 sprachlich) and 21.1.13 (p. 22). The expression *radicitus exstirpare* is found for the first time in Sen. *ira* 3.42.1 *extirpemus radicitus, quae quamvis tenuia undecumque haeserint renascantur* (“let us tear it up by the roots, for if there should linger the smallest traces, it will grow again”, tr. Basore); TLL XI 2.21.58. Remarkably, the Greek equivalent is found in Them. *Or.* 10. 131 d, where the speaker defends a peaceful settlement with the Goths: τῶν βασιλέων ἔργον...τὸ μὴ πρόρριζον ἐκκόπτειν (‘it is the task of a king...not to destroy root and branch’). For *discriminibus didicere supremis* cf. 29.1.42 *docente periclo postremo*.

*Marco itidem moderante imperium unum spirando vesania gentium dissonarum post bellorum fragores immensos* The sentence is composed of stock phrases; cf. 14.2.15 (about the Isaurians) *flagrans vesania manus*, 29.5.28 (about African tribes) *dissonas cultu et sermonum varietate nationes plurimas unum spirantibus animis immanium exordia concitare bellorum*, and 31.12.12 *horrendo fragore sibilantibus armis*. See for the adj. *dissonus* ad 23.6.75, and cf. 31.7.11 (p. 135) *interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus*.

Amm. refers in the present text to the wars of Marcus Aurelius (161–180) against the Quadi and Marcomanni among others (cf. Eutr. 8.13.1 *bellum Marcomannicum confecit, quod cum his Quadi, Vandali, Sarmatae, Suevi atque omnis barbaria commoverat*), as he had done in 29.6.1 (p. 223): *obsessa*

5.13

...ab isdem (sc. Quadi) Marcomannisque Aquileia diu Opitergiumque excisum et cruenta complura per celeres acta procinctus vix resistente perruptis Alpibus Iuliis, whether or not one accepts the attractive conjecture of Rosen, 1994 (in an article which we unfortunately missed when we prepared our commentary on Book 29), who proposed to read *Arimini curatore, quem ante docuimus, Macrinio* instead of *principe Pio, quem ante docuimus, Marco* with Seyfarth and others. See for these wars in the first place Kovács, 2009, 201–263, and cf. further Boehme, 1975; Dobesch, 1994; Birley, 2010; Fischer, 2012 and Birley, 2012, 222–230.

*post aerumnas urbium captarum et direptarum et poenas sumptas pro rectoris interitu partes eorum exiguas reliquisset intactas* The text is badly damaged here. V reads *posteaeri urbium captarum et direptarum et pessum concitas proratoris interitus*. Two sentences from speeches of Julian lend themselves to comparison. In 20.5.4, speaking about the havoc wrought by the Alamans, Julian mentions the capture of cities and the loss of innumerable men: *post civitatum excidia peremptaque innumera hominum milia*, and in 23.5.18, on the eve of the invasion of Persia, he evokes *miseranda* (the plight) *recens captarum urbium et inultae caesorum exercituum umbrae*. Taken together these passages support Madvig's *post aerumnas urbium*. Apart from Aquileia and Opitergium, mentioned in 29.6.1, Amm. probably had Ravenna in mind; cf. D.C. 71.11.5. In the second half of the sentences quoted Julian refers to heavy losses suffered by the Romans. This would tally with the combined conjectures of Cornelissen, 1886, 301 and Petschenig, 1892, 690 (*post*) *passim concisos imperatoris exercitus*.

For *concidere* cf. 14.7.3 *pugilum vicissim se concidentium*, 25.3.5 *aversorumque Persarum et beluarum suffragines concidebat et dorsa*, 28.1.21 *concisus virgis*, 30.1.21 *victima* (king Papa) *multiplicatis ictibus foede concisa*, and Cic. Div. 1.77 *concisus exercitus*. For *passim* in a similar context cf. 31.6.3 *in qua difficultate diutius positi passim et promisce ruebant* (note that Amm. never uses *pessum*, which is kept by Sabbah). Heraeus' conjecture *poenas sumptas pro rectoris interitu*, printed by Clarke and Seyfarth, is off the mark, since we expect a reference to harm inflicted on the Romans, not to revenge taken by the Romans for the loss of an army commander. *Eorum* may be defended as a *constructio ad sensum*, since the subject of the sentence, *vesania gentium*, is a personification of 'the mad hordes of the barbarians'. Just like the Cimbri and the Teutoni, the Marcomanni and the Quadi brought ruin upon themselves. *Partes eorum exiguas reliquisset intactas* runs parallel to *radicitus exstirpati discriminibus didicere supremis* in the preceding section, to *amissa suorum parte maxima* in §15 and to *cum sui exitio* at the end of §17.

*verum mox post calamitosa dispendia res in integrum sunt restitutae hac gratia, quod nondum solutioris vitae mollitie sobria vetustas infecta nec ambitiosis mensis nec flagitiosis quaestibus inhiabat* With Amm.'s confidence in Rome's resilience one can compare Them. *Or.* 15.197 b; even after the battle of Adrianople Themistius was optimistic about the future and stated that the Goths had not prevailed over the Romans: ἔχειν δὲ χρὴ θυμὸν ἀγαθόν. 'Πωμαίων γὰρ οὕτω βάρβαροι κεκρατήχασιν; see Rosen, 1992, 85–86. 5.14

About *dispendium* TLL V 1.1395.53 notes "frequentant prae ceteris Symm. Amm. (19ies) Ambr. Ennod. (25ies) Cassiod.". For *hac gratia* 'for this reason' cf. 19.12.9 *reus hac gratia postulat, quod*. It is a Sallustianism: *Sal. Jug.* 54.4 *id ea gratia eveniebat, quod*; TLL VI 2.2236.13–26.

According to Barnes 176 the Latin words *solutioris vitae mollitie* evoke the personified Τρυφή ('Luxury') and 'Ασωτία ('Wantonness'), whom Julian in his *Caesares* (336 a) had depicted as the boon companions of Jesus as he pardoned murderers and adulterers. In this way Amm. would intimate that the old Roman sobriety had been destroyed by Christianity. This interpretation seems to ignore the entirely topical character of this idealization of the past, with its references to luxurious meals and unbridled avarice, as found in the prefaces of Sallust and Livy and in Amm.'s own Roman digressions (14.6.10–11, 28.4.9). It is, moreover, linguistically unnecessary. The expression *solutioris vitae* is found in Valerius Maximus, an author often quoted in the *Res Gestae* (see for Amm. and Valerius Maximus Rohrbacher, 2005): *Scipio autem Africanus superior...solutioris vitae primos adulescentiae annos egisse fertur* (6.9.2). Cf. also Iust. 1.7.13 (about the Lydians) *sic gens industria quondam potens et manu strenua effeminata mollitie luxuriaque virtutem pristinam perdidit*. As to *vetustas*, Eigler, 2003, 79 n. 3 adduces the present text as one of the exceptions to the rule that the word usually refers to the time of the Republic. For *ambitiosis mensis* cf. 16.5.1 *ambitosam mensam fortuna, parcam virtus apponit*.

*sed unanimanti ardore summi et infimi inter se congruentes ad speciosam pro re publica mortem tamquam ad portum aliquem tranquillum properabant et placidum* Apart from Amm., who has it three times, *unanimans* is found only in Pl. *Truc.* 434–435 *non amantis mulieris, / sed sociae unanimantis*; see ad 21.5.9 (p. 64). Amm. may well have in mind the patriotic behaviour of Julian's soldiers on the eve of the battle of Strasbourg: *Cunctis igitur summis infimisque approbantibus tunc opportune congregiendum nec de rigore animorum quidquam remittentibus* (16.12.18). For *summi et infimi* cf. also e.g. 19.9.2; Cic. *Mil.* 17, *Fam.* 2.13.3; Liv. 1.54.3, 3.34.1, 3.34.3, 10.40.3. The comparison of death to a tranquil harbour is traditional; cf. Cic. *Sen.* 71 *ut quo propius*

*ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus; Sen. Ag. 591–592 miseros libera mors vocet / portus aeterna placidus quiete.*

- 5.15 *Duobus navium milibus perrupto Bosporo et litoribus Propontidis Scythicarum gentium catervae transgressae ediderunt quidem acerbas terra marique strages, sed amissa suorum parte maxima reverterunt* Amm. refers to the invasion of the Roman Empire during the reign of the emperor Claudius II Gothicus (see for him below, ad §17), for which “wir eine bei Zosimos und der Vita Claudii im ganzen übereinstimmende Tradition vorfinden” (Kettenhofen, 1992, 300), sc. Zos. 1.42–46 and HA Cl. 6–9. But there are differences between these sources. The same number of ships as in Amm. is mentioned in HA Cl. 8.1 *Habuerunt praeterea duo milia navium, duplicem scilicet numerum quam illum, quo tota pariter Graecia omnisque Thessalia urbes Asiae quondam expugnare conata est* (referring to the Trojan War), whereas Zosimus speaks of 6000 ships (πλοῖα ἑξακισχίλια, 1.42.1). “Quelle dieser Berichte ist Dexippus”, according to Hartmann, 2008, 301 n. 14 (cf. Paschoud<sup>2</sup> n. 67 ad Zos. 1.42; however, ad HA. Cl. 8.1 Paschoud p. 285 writes: “Il paraît difficile de ne pas conclure que, lorsque ‘Pollio’ rédigeait *Claud. 8*, il avait en tête le livre 31 d’Ammien”).

Whether HA *Gall.* 13.6–10 and Syncellus 717, 15–28 Mosshammer refer to the same invasion, is disputed. Alföldi, 1939 (= 1967, 436–439) thought they did, a view endorsed by e.g. Gilliam, 1972, 143, Paschoud<sup>2</sup> n. 67 and Wolfram, 1988, 52–54. See however, Kettenhofen, 1992, Bleckmann, 1992, 191–198 and Hartmann, 2008, 302 n. 16, who argue that one should make a distinction between two invasions, one in the time of Gallienus, the other under Claudius.

In 22.8.13 Amm. distinguishes between two Bospori, the Cimmerian and the Thracian; the latter must be meant here. In 27.4.10 the Thracian Bosporus and the Propontis are also mentioned in one breath: *oppida enim in Bosporo sita et Propontide classes obtinuerunt Romanae*. The name *Propontis* (modern sea of Marmara) is first attested in A. *Pers.* 876. Zos. 1.42.2 reports that many ships of the barbarians were heavily damaged and were lost ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ στενὰ τῆς Προποντίδος κατέλαβον. Cf. HA Cl. 9.4 *multi naufragio perierunt*. Amm. uses *Gothi* and *Scythae* alternately, most frequently the former; see ad 20.8.1 (p. 181) and 23.2.7 (p. 31). The other sources for the invasions in the middle of the third century do not only mention Goths. Zos. 1.42.1 speaks also of *Heruli* and *Peuces* or *Peuci* (Ἑρούλους καὶ Πεύκας καὶ Γότθους; see for the *Peuci* ad 22.8.43, p. 140), while in HA Cl. 6 first mention is made of *Gothi*, but then it is said: *denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peuci, Grutungi,*

*Austrogoti, Tervingi, <Vi>si, Gipedes, Celtae etiam et Eruli, praedae cupiditate in Romanum solum inruperunt*; note, however, that the value of this source with the (anachronistic?) names of *Grutungi* and *Tervingi* is disputed (cf. e.g. Hartmann, 2008, 302 n. 16). Potter, 2014<sup>2</sup>, 241 prefers to call the tribes mentioned in the present text “Scythians”, because in his view the Goths of the fourth century cannot easily be linked with their supposed ancestors of the mid-third century.

For *perrumpere* cf. 30.2.8 *metus totius Gothiae Thracias licentius perrumpentis*. As to the number of Goths invading Asia Minor, HA in a highly dramatic passage writes (*Cl.* 6.5–6) *trecenta viginti milia armatorum fuerunt. adde servos, adde familias, adde carraginem* (‘wagon-train’, see ad 31.7.7, pp. 130–131) *et epotata flumina consumptasque silvas, laborasse denique terram ipsam, quae tantum barbarici tumoris exceperit*. Zos. 1.42.1 has the same number: δύο καὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας, probably an exaggeration according to Paschoud<sup>2</sup> n. 67 and Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 426.

*ceciderunt dimicando cum barbaris imperatores Decii pater et filius* The precedent of the Decii is well chosen, because they were the first emperors to die on the battle field whilst fighting the Goths, just like Valens. Chronologically Amm. leaps backwards. C. Messius Quintus Decius Valerinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 520) and his son Herennius Decius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 106) reigned before Claudius, mentioned in the preceding section. The father (249–251) was joined as *Augustus* by his son in 251 (Kienast, 1996<sup>2</sup>, 204–207). They both died in the battle of Abrittus (or Abritus), modern Razgrad in Bulgaria, not in the Dobrudja (pace e.g. De Jaeghere, 2014, 57 n. 65 and 225 n. 26), but between Marcianopolis and Sexaginta Prista (Talbert 22 D5); see in general Birley, 1997 and Birley, 1998; for the battle of Abrittus Bleckmann, 1992, 157–173; and for the date of the death of the emperors Kovács, 2015.

In HA A. 42.6 we read about these Decii: *et vita et mors veteribus comparanda est*, which is a reference to the Decii of old, viz. father, son and grandson P. Decius Mus, who by their (real or alleged) *devotiones* won victories for Rome (see ad 23.5.19, pp. 121–122). In the other sources about the death of the *imperatores Decii pater et filius* (of which a full survey is given by Kovács, 2015, 305–306) nothing is said about any self-sacrifice. In 31.13.13 (p. 236) Amm. writes: *Caesarem accipimus Decium dimicantem cum barbaris acriter equi lapsu prostratum, quem ferventem retinere non valuit, abiectumque in paludem nec emergere potuisse nec inveniri*.

*obsessae Pamphyliæ civitates, insulae populatae complures, inflammata Macedonia omnis, diu multitudo Thessalonicam circumsegit itidemque Cyzicum*

5.16

As is noted ad 27.9.6 (p. 212), in the fourth century Pamphylia was one of the provinces belonging to the diocese Asiana. In the third century it was part of the province *Lycia et Pamphylia* (Zimmermann, 1999; Brandt and Kolb, 2006<sup>2</sup>). Attaleia (modern Antalya, Talbert 65 E4), Perge (Talbert 65 E4) and Side (Talbert 65 F4) were its principal *civitates* (Arena, 2005, 102–106, 125–131, 136–143). Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 29 = F 33 Mecella describes a siege of Side by ‘Scythians’ (ἐπολιόρκουν οἱ Σκύθαι τὴν Σίδην), which presumably is to be dated in 269. Cf. Arena, 2005, 85–86 and Mecella, 2013, 388–391. See for an interesting inscription from the city of Sagalassus which has to do with the barbarian raids on Pamphylia Biagi, 2006.

For the *insulae* see Zos. 1.46.1 (Κρήτην καὶ Ῥόδον) and HA *Cl.* 12.1 (*Cretam... et Cyprum*), but according to both authors, who refer to the reign of Claudius, the ‘Scythians’ did no harm worth mentioning. As to Macedonia, Zos. 1.46.1 says that there the barbarians were not successful either, because of a pestilence: λοιμοῦ δὲ κατασχόντος ἅπαντας αὐτοῦς, οἱ μὲν κατὰ Θράκην οἱ δὲ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐφθάρησαν; cf. HA *Cl.* 12.1 *sed ubique morbo atque <fame> exercitu laborante superati sunt*. Cf. Eutr. 9.11.2 *Hic* (sc. Claudius) *Gothos Illyricum Macedoniamque vastantes ingenti proelio vicit*.

The siege of Macedonian Thessalonica (in Amm. only mentioned here) is also known from HA *Cl.* 9.8 *pugnatum apud Thessalonicensis, quos Claudio absente obsederant barbari* and Zon. 12.26 Οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ πολλὰς μὲν κατέδραμον χώρας, τὴν δὲ γε Θεσσαλονίκην ἐπολιόρκουν. Zos. 1.43.1 states that the barbarians, after they had lost the many ships already mentioned (above, ad § 15), ἐπὶ Κύζικον ἔπλεον, but were unsuccessful there. See for Cyzicus (Talbert 52 B4) ad 26.8.6 (pp. 223–224).

*Anchialos capta et tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam indicium victoriae contra Dacos Traianus condidit imperator* According to HA *Cl.* 12.4 an unsuccessful attack on Anchialos and the capture of Nicopolis took place after the emperor Claudius had died: *sub hoc* (sc. Claudius’ brother Quintillus) *barbari, qui superfuerant, Anchialon vastare conati sunt, Nicopolim etiam optinere. sed illi provincialium virtute obtriti sunt*. See for Anchialos (Talbert 22 E6) ad 22.8.43 (pp. 140–141), ad 27.4.12 (p. 95) and Karayotov and Torbatov, 2012, for Nicopolis ad Istrum (Talbert 22 C5) ad 27.4.12 (pp. 96–97) and R.T. Ivanov, 2012.

- 5.17 *post clades acceptas illatasque multas et saevas excisa est Philippopolis centum hominum milibus, nisi fingunt annales, intra moenia iugulatis. vagati per Epirum Thessaliamque et omnem Graeciam licentius hostes externi* Whereas the events summarily touched on in the preceding section mainly belong to

the reign of the emperor Claudius, the capture of Philippopolis took place during the reign of Decius, cf. Zos. 1.24.2. For the city (Talbert 22 B6) see ad 27.4.12 (p. 95), Topalilov, 2012 and Topalilov, 2014; for the chronology of the Gothic invasions in these years Boteva, 2001; cf. further Berndt, 2013, 13–16. There is a detailed account of the siege by Dexippus: *FGrH* 100 F 27 = F 30 Mecella, cf. McNerney's commentary in BNJ (Brill's New Jacoby) and Mecella, 2013, 360–371. See now also Grusková and Martin, 2014 and 2015, and Martin and Grusková, 2014, who present new fragments of (well-nigh certainly) Dexippus' *Scythica* which deal with an attack by 'Scythians' on a Thracian city, and with the events after the fall of Philippopolis; cf. Mallan and Davenport, 2015 and Jones, 'Further Fragments of Dexippus'. Cf. for the siege of Philippopolis also Iord. *Get.* 101–103. For *annales* cf. 22.16.24 (p. 311), 25.9.9, 31.13.19 and Sabbah 65 n. 1 and 530 n. 62. For *licenter/licentius* cf. 28.6.3 *ut in otio nostra peragrande licentius* and see ad 20.10.2 (pp. 238–239) and for the ellipsis of auxiliary *sunt* after *vagati* see Blomgren 68–79.

*sed assumpto in imperium Claudio, glorioso ductore, et eodem honesta morte praerepto per Aurelianum, acrem virum et severissimum noxarum ultorem, pulsi per longa saecula siluerunt immobiles, nisi quod postea latrocinales globi vicina cum sui exitio rarius incursabant. verum ea persequar, unde deverti* This is the only time that the emperor Claudius II Gothicus (268–270; *PLRE* I, Claudius 11; Kienast, 1996<sup>2</sup>, 231–232) is mentioned by name in the *Res Gestae*. In 16.10.3 (p. 113) he is praised anonymously for sacrificing his life for the state, just as the Decii had done before him: *alium ad Deciorum exempla vovisse pro re publica spiritum*. For the full story see Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 34.3–5 and *epit.* 34.3, with Schwartz, 1973. Amm. probably added *honesta morte*, because he was aware of the (correct) version, that Claudius died of the pest (cf. e.g. Eutr. 9.11; HA *Cl.* 12.2, cf. 12.6, where it is disputed whether one should read *Claudium* or *Quintillum*; Zos. 1.46.2 and see further Hartmann, 2008, 306–307 with n. 33).

For Aurelian (270–275; *PLRE* I, Aurelianus 6; Kienast, 1996<sup>2</sup>, 234–236) see ad 30.8.8 (pp. 174–175); add to the literature cited there Hartmann, 2008, 308–323. *Is quoque Gothos strenuissime vicit* (Eutr. 9.13.1; cf. HA *A.* 22.2), but Aurelian had to fight against other enemies in Europe too. We hear of Iuthungi (τοὺς Ἰουθοῦγγους Σκύθας, Dexipp. *FGrH* 100 F 6 = F 34 Mecella), Vandals (ibid. F 7 = F 36 Mecella), Suebi and Sarmatians (HA *A.* 18.2), Alamanni (Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 35.2; Zos. 1.49.1), Carpi (HA *A.* 30.4, Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39.43). Zos. 1.48.1 mentions Σκύθας. Note that “les sources sont assez embrouillées” (Paschoud<sup>2</sup> n. 76 ad Zos. 1.48).



The verb *silere* here denotes the absence of hostilities; cf. the phrase *alto externorum silentio* in 30.4.1 (p. 60). Later troubles caused by the Goths are made light of by Amm. as occasional forays on a limited scale, ending in disaster for the bandits. The passage on historical precedents for the Gothic invasion is formally rounded off and marked as a digression. See for this ad 22.8.48 (pp. 145–146).

## CHAPTER 6

### *Introduction*

This chapter describes the dire consequences of treating allies as mere underlings whose task it was to obey and to serve Roman orders without complaining. The overconfidence of the Roman leadership was heavily punished when Gothic *populi* under Sueridus and Colias rebelled and defected. These Goths, probably auxiliary troops, had winter quarters near Adrianople (§ 1). When ordered by Valens to cross to Asia Minor, a conflict with the local magistrate broke out after Sueridas and Colias had asked for provisions for the journey; they also demanded a postponement of two days (§ 2). The matter escalated when the magistrate of Adrianople, aggravated already because of the plundering of his suburban villa, threatened to kill the Goths if they did not leave at once. The Goths, who felt humiliated by the Romans, remained where they were, but when they were attacked they broke into open revolt (§ 3). In the ensuing fight the Goths proved stronger. They then joined their forces with those of their compatriot Fritigern under his command and beleaguered Adrianople for a short time, until Fritigern decided to break off the siege because of the Gothic inexperience with beleaguering cities and the heavy losses of life among the Goths (§ 4). The Goths now started to attack and plunder Thrace. Ammianus sketches a picture of ruthless killing and plundering in which many men, women and children lost their property, their freedom and even their life. Meanwhile the Goths were joined by many fellow countrymen, including Goths who had been sold into slavery, as well as by gold diggers who were unable to bear the heavy burden of taxation (§ 5–8).

*Hoc gestorum textu circumlato nuntiis densis Sueridus et Colias, Gothorum optimates, cum populis suis longe ante suscepti et curare apud Hadrianopolim hiberna dispositi salutem suam ducentes antiquissimam omnium otiosis animis accidentia cuncta contuebantur* See for *textus* above, ad 31.2.25 (p. 38). The news reported by Amm. in sections 1–9 of the preceding chapter was made public by frequent messengers, and also reached the Goths at Adrianople who were led by two men (*PLRE* I, Colias and *PLRE* I, Sueridus), whose names are only mentioned here. These names, according to Wagner, 1989, are more or less equivalent to “honoratus” in the case of Sueridus,

6.1

and “gloriosus, nobilis, felix” in that of Colias. For the use of *optimates* for the non-Roman elite see ad 31.2.7 (p. 23), for Adrianople (Talbert 51 H<sub>1</sub>) ad 27.4.12 (p. 95) *Hadrianopolim...quae dicebatur Uscadama*, in which note it is inter alia stated that another name of Uscadama/Hadrianopolis was Orestias or Oresta, found in Zon. 17.23 and HA *Hel.* 7.6–8. The latter passage comprises the ominous words *Orestam...quam saepe cruentari hominum sanguine necesse est*, which may refer to the battle fought by Licinius and Maximinus Daia in 313, the victory of Constantine over Licinius in 324 or the defeat of Valens in 378 as described in 31.13; cf. Rohrbacher, 2016, 145.

At what time the *populi* led by Sueridus and Colias had been admitted into the empire is disputed, as is their status. Wanke, 1990, 76–78, Heather, 1991, 142 and Lenski, 2002, 353, among others, are probably right in thinking that they were auxiliary troops of the Roman army—as was already mentioned ad 31.4.1 (p. 55), we know from 30.2.6 that Valens had made use of Scythian, i.e. Gothic, auxiliaries before—but Klein, 1951, 190 regards them as civilian settlers. In support of the *communis opinio* one can point to the fact that Amm. uses *populus* regularly in the sense of ‘militaris multitudo’ (see ad 20.7.5, p. 160 and cf. TLL X 1.2732.44–53), and that *hiberna* is used by Amm. almost exclusively in its military meaning; we find *hiberna curare* also in 19.11.1; for *disponere*, ‘to ordain’, see ad 20.4.9 (p. 74). Moreover, Amm. reports in § 2 that Valens wanted to remove the Goths under Sueridus and Colias to Asia Minor (*transire iussi sunt in Hellespontum*), which sounds more as if the emperor wished to prevent Gothic soldiers from collaborating with their approaching compatriots (which some time later actually happened, 31.6.3) than as if there was a plan to give civilian settlers a new home. As to *longe ante suscepti*, Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 440 assumes that the Goths led by Sueridus and Colias had been admitted shortly before Alavivus and Fritigern with their followers crossed the Danube in 376 (31.4.8), but Amm.’s wording points to a ‘much earlier’ date. Should they perhaps be identified with the *Gothorum tria milia* of 26.10.3 (pp. 267–268), sent as allies to Procopius in 365 (cf. 27.4.1, 27.5.1, 31.3.4, Zos. 4.7.1)? According to Eun.*fr.* 37 and Zos. 4.10.1 Valens’ generals had got the better of these allies, and it is therefore theoretically possible that the emperor subsequently used them as auxiliaries. However, Zosimus, in the wake of Eunapius, also states that Valens forced Procopius’ Gothic troops to surrender their weapons, and that he distributed them over the cities along the Danube, where they had to be kept in free custody (τὰ ὄπλα παραδόναι συναναγκάσας δένειμε ταῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον αὐτοῦ πόλεσιν, ἐν ἀδέσμῳ φρουρεῖσθαι παρακελευσάμενος φυλακῇ); this is not quite consistent with the situation

of more than ten years later as described in the present text, in which we see a number of Goths (*populi*) assigned to stay in winter quarters near a specific city (*apud Hadrianopolim*); cf. for this Schwarcz, 1984, 110 and Wolfram, 1988, 404–405 n. 176. In view of this we should reject an identification of the *populi* of Sueridus and Colias with the Goths sent as allies to Procopius and the inference must be that Amm.'s *longe ante* cannot be precisely defined.

Some scholars have wondered whether the words *apud Hadrianopolim* are correct. In the manuscripts there is no indication that something is wrong, but it has been suggested by Wanke, 1990, 138–141 that Amm. made a mistake, and that not Adrianople, but Marcianopolis (see for this city 31.5.4, p. 86) was the town where Sueridus and Colias had winter quarters. More on this below, ad § 3 (pp. 112–113).

In their 'dolce far niente' Sueridus and Colias passively watched what was happening (*accidentia cuncta*), sc. what the Goths who had crossed the Danube were doing. Sueridus and Colias found their own safety 'most important'; see for this meaning of *antiquissimus* ad 23.5.15 (p. 110), for a list of substantivized present participles ad 31.3.2 (p. 41). They were not eyewitnesses, of course, *contueri* is here used in the sense of "animo vel cogitatione contemplari, considerare, perlustrare sim." (TLL IV 795.18–19).

*verum imperatoris litteris repente perlatis, quibus transire iussi sunt in Hellespontum, viaticum cibos biduique dilationem tribui sibi sine tumore poscebant* 6.2  
The Goths near Adrianople were suddenly brought back to reality by an imperial missive, in which they were ordered to cross to Hellespontus, one of the provinces belonging to the diocese Asiana (*Laterculus Veronensis* p. 206 Barnes; *Not. Dign. Or.* 2.32). The reaction of the *populi* under Sueridus and Colias was calm: without arrogance they asked for a respite of two days and for food for the march. Remarkably, this is Amm.'s only instance of *viaticum*, "travelling allowance" (OLD s.v.). One wonders whether *cibos* was originally a marginal note to explain *viaticum*, and was then introduced into the text itself by a scribe. The phrase *sine tumore* is, of course, important: Amm. suggests that a negative answer to a reasonable request would be counter-productive. Once again Amm. states that in their dealings with the Romans the Goths at first acted reasonably, and that it was only the reaction of the Roman authorities (*quod civitatis magistratus ferens indigne*) which finally (*ad ultimum*, § 3) forced them to break out into open rebellion. Cf. 31.4.10, where it is said that the arrogant and greedy behaviour of Lupicinus and Maximus (*quorum insidiatrix aviditas materia malorum omnium fuit*) had driven the Goths (*adhuc innoxios*) to desperation.

*quod civitatis magistratus ferens indigne—suscensebat enim isdem ob rem suam in suburbano vastatam—imam plebem omnem cum fabricensibus, quorum illic ampla est multitudo, productam in eorum armavit exitium iussisque bellicum canere bucinis, ni abirent ocius, ut statutum est, pericula omnibus minabatur* The interference of the local magistrate, whose suburban villa had been destroyed by the Goths (*isdem*) accelerated the situation dangerously. The expression *civitatis magistratus*, unique in Amm., seems only attested in epigraphical sources, CIL 13.8771 Flav(u)s Vihirmatis fil(ius) [s]ummus magistra(tus) [c]vitat[is] Batavor(um) and AE 1996.1706 P. Cornelius Viat(or) et Iust(us) Bithies f(ilius) mag(istratus) civit(at[is]) Sivalit(anae); in Dig. 50.1.25 we find *magistratus municipales*, in Cod. Theod. 12.1.77 *magistratus...patriae*. The regular magistrates of a provincial city consisted of *duoviri* (or *duumviri*), aediles (cf. 28.6.10, p. 272) and quaestors, of whom the *duoviri* were the most important functionaries (“they presided in the council, administered the vestigial remnants of jurisdiction which the cities preserved, and gave games”, Jones 725; cf. Langhammer, 1973, 62–149; Gizewski, 1997, 844). With *civitatis magistratus* Amm. must mean a *duovir*, a term which is not found in the *Res Gestae*.

The *civitatis magistratus* was indignant, not only because the city of Adrianople had to bear the costs of the *viaticum* and the food of the Goths, but also because the barbarians had destroyed his property in a suburb. The man mobilized the riffraff as well as the personnel of the *fabrica*, which, according to Not. Dign. Or. 11.32, was established in Adrianople: *scutaria et armorum, Hadrianopoli Haemimonti* (see for such ‘arms factories’ ad 29.3.4, pp. 122–123). As is noted ad 25.2.1 (p. 42), the expression *ima plebs* is extremely rare; for the various ways in which Amm. uses *plebs* see ad 20.6.6 (pp. 143–144), where, however, the meaning the word has in the present text, ‘the common people in cities other than Rome’, is not mentioned. The *magistratus* then put an ultimatum to the Goths, threatening to kill them all, if they did not leave with due speed as the emperor had ordered (*ut statutum est*). Cf. for *bellicum canere bucinis* 26.4.5 *bellicum canentibus bucinis* (p. 88) and for the *bucina* and other musical instruments ad 24.4.15 (p. 120); cf. also the note ad 24.5.9 (pp. 163–164), Alexandrescu, 2010 and Rance, 2015a. See for *minari* OLD s.v. 2 (with the dat. of a person): “to hold out as a threat”.

- 6.3 *quo malo praeter spem Gothi perculsi et concito quam considerato civium assultu perterriti steterunt immobiles* Understandably, the Goths were shocked by this unexpected (*praeter spem*) setback and frightened by the aggression of the citizens, which was inspired by excitement (*concito*) rather than by rational thinking (*considerato*). See for *quam* meaning ‘rather than’

Szantyr 593–594. Nevertheless, the Goths did not give in. See for Amm.'s predilection for the adj. *immobilis* ad 25.3.9 (pp. 74–75), 25.4.14 (p. 139) and 27.5.5 (p. 112).

*laceratique ad ultimum detestatione atque conviciis et temptati missilium iactibus raris ad defectionem erupere confessam* The mob now burst into a barrage of abuse. See for *lacerare conviciis* ad 30.1.16 (p. 18); *detestatio* means “expression of abhorrence” (OLD s.v.). At times the stream of abuse was accompanied by missiles to provoke the Goths. The challenge received a clear reaction: the Goths, who in all probability served as auxiliary soldiers in the Roman army (cf. above ad § 1, p. 108), ‘openly declared’ their revolt; see for this meaning of passively used *confiteri ad ex confesso* (21.1.3, p. 6) and cf. for *defectio* the verb *deficere* in 31.5.2 *ne iam deficerent, pertimescens* (p. 83).

*et caesis plurimis, quos impetus deceperat petulantior, aversisque residuis et telorum varietate confixis habitu iam Romano cadaveribus spoliatis armati* The boot was now on the other foot: in reply to the Roman *convicia* and *missilia* the Goths threw deadly missiles of various types, and killed very many of their opponents, “who had been misled by their own rashness into launching an assault” (Hamilton); *quos impetus deceperat petulantior* refers to *concito quam considerato civium assultu* earlier in the sentence; for *deceperat* cf. 28.2.7 *ne Romani...pravo deciperentur errore*. They also stripped the bodies of those who had fallen of their armour and chased off the others. *Habitus* here is not so much used of garments, as in 20.4.22 (p. 111), as “de iis, quae manibus geruntur” (TLL VI 3.2486.35sq.), i.e. weapons. As we saw before in 31.5.5 and 31.5.9 (cf. also 31.13.12), whenever the Goths had the upper hand, they stripped the Romans of their weapons, which were, presumably, of a better quality than those of the Goths themselves. In this case the weapons which had belonged to the *fabricenses* (§ 2) were probably brand-new as well.

*viso propius Fritigerno iunxerunt semet ut morigeri socii urbemque clausam obsidionalibus aerumnis urgebant. in qua difficultate diutius positi passim et promisce ruebant eminensque aliquorum audacia peribat inulta multique sagittis et rotatis per fundas lapidibus interibant* Amm. had informed his readers before about the activities of the Gothic leader Fritigern. In 31.4.8 (p. 72) he reported that the Thervingian Goths under Fritigern and Alavivus were received within the borders of the Roman Empire with the permission of Valens. In 31.5.4 he narrated that Fritigern and his followers arrived in

Marcianopolis, and in 31.5.5–8 that the Roman general Lupicinus' behaviour there led to a rift between Fritigern's Goths and the Romans. Fritigern thereupon ravaged the Thracian countryside, defeated Lupicinus' troops not far from Marcianopolis and continued to roam at large (31.5.9). Now he was near Adrianople, where the Goths of Sueridus and Colias joined him. With the careful formula *morigeri socii* Amm. defines the position of Sueridus and his followers, who were no longer on the Roman side: they had become the 'subordinate allies' of Fritigern; for *morigerus*, "i.q. *morem gerens, obsequens*" (TLL VIII 1490.64) see ad 26.4.3 (p. 83). They joined in the siege of Adrianople and "threatened it with the horrors of a siege" (Hamilton); for *obsidionalis*, "i.q. *ad obsidionem pertinens*", see TLL IX 2.226.16sq., and for the combination with *aerumna* cf. 31.15.15 *alter alterum arguentes, quod non...obsidionales aerumnas ubique declinarunt*. The besiegers were *in...difficultate* themselves too: as there was no clear strategy actions took place at random (*passim et promisce*) without any results, and with considerable loss of life caused by archers and slingers. The besieged apparently had such specialists at their disposal (cf. 24.4.16 about the defence of Maozamalcha: *cum sagittariis funditores*). In the present text and in 31.7.14 the term *funda* means 'sling', i.e. "genus armaturae, quo lapides vel glandes iaciuntur, σφενδόνη" (TLL VI 1.1548.25–26), whereas in 20.11.12 *lapidum crebritas atque fundarum* and 20.11.17 *sagittis incessebantur et fundis* Amm. used it in the sense of 'slingstone', "missile, quod funda mittitur" (TLL VI 1.1549.10). As to the firing of stones *per fundas*, Vegetius recommends for recruits of the Roman army a training in this skill: *ad lapides...vel manibus vel fundis iaciendos exerceri convenit iuniores* (*mil.* 1.16.1) and in *mil.* 2.23.9 speaks of *rotare* with respect to slingers: *adsuescendum est etiam, ut semel tantum funda circa caput rotetur, cum ex ea emittitur saxum* ("They should be accustomed to rotating the sling once only about the head, when the stone is discharged from it", tr. Milner); cf. Griffiths, 1989 and Völling, 1990.

That Fritigern first operated in and near Marcianopolis (in the spring of 377, presumably; cf. ad 31.5.4, p. 86 and 31.5.8, pp. 91–92) and some time later was joined by Sueridus and Colias near Adrianople, was the accepted interpretation of Amm.'s text until 1990, when Wanke raised the question whether Amm.'s descriptions of the confrontation between Fritigern and Lupicinus in Marcianopolis and that of Sueridus and Colias with the *civitatis magistratus* in Adrianople "nicht ein einziges Ereignis spiegeln" (p. 138). He answered the question in the affirmative ("erscheint es angebracht, das gewohnte Verständnis der beiden Berichte Ammians aufzugeben und darin nicht mehr zwei, sondern nur noch ein Ereignis zu sehen, Schlacht und Belagerung bei Marcianopel", p. 141), but as a precondition for this inter-

pretation, he had to assume that Amm. was mistaken when he wrote *apud Hadrianopolim* in 31.6.1 (“Konkret müsste ‘Hadrianopolim’ in ‘Marcianopolim’ emendiert werden”, p. 139)—if Wanke is right (he is followed by e.g. Demandt, 2007<sup>2</sup>, 151 n. 140), it would not be Amm.’s only mistake; if Amm. really regarded Fritigern’s conflict with Lupicinus and that of Sueridus and Colias with the *civitatis magistratus* as “ein einziges Ereignis”, he clumsily omitted to give his readers any hint whatsoever that these events were connected.

Wanke’s objection to the traditional interpretation was twofold, and had to do with, in the first place, the distance between Marcianopolis and Adrianople, and, in the second place, the distance between Adrianople and the *oppidum Salices*, mentioned by Amm. in 31.7.5. How can Amm. say in 31.6.1 that Sueridus and Colias *otiosis animis accidentia cuncta contuebantur*, when Fritigern and his followers were some 280 km away, even if *contueri* “nicht als optisches Wahrnehmen aufzufassen ist, sondern sinnbildlich als ‘bemerken’, ‘davon hören’”? The answer is simple, and Amm. gives it in the same section: *Hoc gestorum textu circumlato nuntiis densis*. If news about developments in Thrace could reach the emperor in faraway Antioch in Syria (31.4.1, 4.5, 4.12–13, 7.1), then there is no cause to wonder that messengers brought the news of Fritigern’s confrontation with Lupicinus in Marcianopolis to his fellow Goths in Adrianople, given the fact that both cities were in the same Thracian diocese. Wanke’s second objection concerns the location of the *oppidum Salices*, identified by him (p. 139) with *Ad Salices* in the Roman province Scythia, in what is nowadays the Romanian part of the Dobruja, the region between the lower Danube and the Black Sea. Can we believe that Fritigern’s Goths moved first from Marcianopolis to Adrianople in the south (280 km), then from Adrianople to Ad Salices in Scythia in the north (530 km) and then moved again southwards to the neighbourhood of Marcianopolis (250 km)? In this case Wanke started from a false premise. The identification of the *oppidum Salices* with *Ad Salices* in Scythia is wrong, as Szidat, 1998, quoted ad 31.7.5 (p. 127), has shown. The *Salices* of 31.7.5 has to be sought near Marcianopolis. To sum up, there is no need to read in §1 *apud Marcianopolim* instead of *apud Hadrianopolim*. Besides, Amm. sketches the events in and near Marcianopolis on the one hand (31.5), and those *apud Hadrianopolim* on the other (31.6) with such an abundant variety of details, that their conflation is well-nigh inconceivable.

*tunc Fritigernus frustra cum tot cladibus collectari homines ignaros obsidendi contemplans relictis ibi manu sufficiente abire negotio imperfecto suasit pacem sibi esse cum parietibus memorans suadensque, ut populandas opi-* 6.4



*mas regiones et uberes absque discrimine ullo vacuas praesidiis etiamtum adorerentur* Fritigern obviously belonged to the ‘no-nonsense’ category of rulers: why should we take risks, when there are safer alternative roads to success? The king drew the only possible conclusion: to stop besieging cities, since the lack of expertise in this field made success impossible. Ad 20.6.3 (p. 140) it is shown that Amm. uses *paries* also to denote the walls of a town. Fritigern is not at war with these, but with enemies of flesh and blood. See for the barbarian’s lack of skill in these matters ad 30.3.3 (p. 53), for siege warfare in general in Late Antiquity Whitby, 2013 and Rance, 2015b, and for siege warfare especially in Amm. Levithan, 2013, 170–204. Fritigern advised to plunder the rich regions which still lacked a proper military protection. Note the critical dimension of the author’s *etiamtum*: such a protection should have been organized long ago. Amm. uses *adoriri* in two senses: a) ‘to attack’, as in 14.7.15 *adorti sunt Montium* and 26.10.1 *medio noctis horrore incautum adoritus occidit*; b) ‘to undertake’ (with a gerundivum), as in 20.6.1 *oppugnandam adoritur Singaram* (p. 136) and 21.12.13 *ferratas portarum obices effringendas adorti*. The present text is another example of the verb’s latter meaning.

- 6.5 *laudato regis consilio, quem cogitatorum norant fore socium efficacem, per Thraciarum latus omne dispersi caute gradiebantur dediticiis vel captivis vicos uberes ostendentibus, eos praecipue, ubi alimentorum reperiri satias dicebatur* The king’s new allies expected him to achieve real results (*efficacem*). Fritigern is here for the first time in the *Res Gestae* called *rex*. See ad 31.5.4 (p. 85) for Amm.’s portrayal of him as a far-sighted and shrewd commander, and for the terms *rex* and *iudex* to denote Gothic leaders. For *cogitatum*, ‘design’, ‘plan’, cf. 30.1.12 *sed evanuit cogitatum hoc casu* (p. 15). As is explained ad 28.2.12 (p. 140), *per omne latus* means ‘in all directions, everywhere’. In the vast territory of Thrace the Goths proceeded cautiously. Fortunately for them, their prisoners (*captivi*) and the *dediticii* knew the places where food could be obtained, sometimes even in abundance. In the Late Empire the word *dediticius*, “is qui se in dicionem deditit” (TLL V 1.264.23), usually denotes barbarians who had “surrendered themselves at discretion to the Roman government, doubtless the victims of intertribal wars or domestic feuds” (Jones 620; cf. the note ad 20.8.13, pp. 202–203, where inter alia Corp. Gloss. Lat. V 4.51; 5.188 is quoted: *dediticius si barbarus tradat se Romanis*). This meaning suits the context here too, but the view that here Amm. means with *dediticii* Roman provincials who had voluntarily surrendered to the Goths (so e.g. Thompson, 1980, 79 and Chauvot, 1998, 261–262) cannot be ruled out. In 31.7.7, 31.15.2 and 31.16.1 we hear of *transfugae*, *proditores*, and *perfugae* who chose the side of the Goths; cf. also 31.11.3, 31.15.4 and 31.15.8–9.

*eo maxime adiumento praeter genuinam erecti fiduciam, quod confluebat ad eos in dies ex eadem gente multitudo dudum a mercatoribus venumdati adiectis plurimis, quos primo transgressu necati inedia vino exili vel panis frustis mutavere vilissimis* The Goths' innate confidence (for *genuinus* see ad 31.5.4; there is a short note on *fiducia* ad 27.7.7, p. 175; cf. further TLL VI 1.697.75 sqq.) was predominantly boosted by the steady growth of their manpower, which first of all consisted of fellow tribesmen who had long ago been sold as slaves by merchants. The reader will remember 22.7.8 (p. 83), where Amm. speaks of Goths sold by Galatian merchants (*illis* sc. *Gothis enim sufficere mercatores Galatas, per quos ubique sine condicionis discrimine venundantur*). It is difficult to pinpoint the precise meaning of the particle *dudum* (Lindénbrog's conjecture for V's *dum*) which occurs quite often in the *Res Gestae* (see ad 20.8.4, p. 185, where 'long ago' is suggested as a useful rendering), but the words just cited from 22.7.8 make clear that such merchants were already active in the time of Julian. Mark the *constructio ad sensum multitudo...venumdati*; Thörnell's proposition (1934, 156) to insert *servitii* after *multitudo* is not necessary. Secondly, there were many others who, immediately after crossing the Danube, had been exchanged for wine of poor quality or very cheap pieces of bread by starving Goths, a reference to those Goths who fell victim to the *insidiatrix aviditas* of Lupicinus and Maximus (31.4.10–11). The phrase *necati inedia*, hyperbolic for 'ravenous', has puzzled scholars, which led to suggestions to alter *necati* in *enecati* (Schneider, 1879, 40) or *paene necati* (Walter, 1920, 717). Of these proposals Schneider's *enecati* seems preferable, since *enecare* is often used "de fame sive inopia" (TLL V 2.563.43 sqq.). However, as Fletcher, 1937, 398 argues, "*necati inedia* is perhaps no more strange as an expression not to be taken literally than 'I am dead with the cold' is in English". Moreover, the use of simplex pro composito occurs quite often in Late Latin; cf. Pighi, 1935, 59–63.

*quibus accessere sequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci vectigalium 6.6  
perferre posse non sufficientes sarcinas graves susceptique libenti consensio-  
ne cunctorum magno usui idem fuere ignota peragrantibus loca conditoria  
frugum occulta et latebras hominum et receptacula secretiora monstrando* Blomgren 161 is certainly right in stating that *idem* (referring to *periti*) can be defended. Still, Heraeus' *isdem* (going with *peragrantibus*) seems preferable, since Amm. usually combines a dat. finalis (like *magno usui*) with a dat. commodi (*isdem*).

Amm.'s complex phrase *sequendarum auri venarum periti* (for *auri venarum* cf. Cic. *N.D.* 2.151 *nos aeris, argenti, auri venas penitus abditas invenimus*) to denote gold diggers is paralleled by *Cod. Theod.* 10.19.10 according to

Henri de Valois. This law, however, concerns marble quarrying (cf. Jones 837) and speaks of individuals *qui per privatorum loca saxorum venam laboriosis effossionibus persequuntur* (“who with laborious digging follow a vein of stone through land belonging to private persons”, tr. Pharr, adapted). Cf. for gold diggers *Cod. Theod.* 10.19.7 *qui...auri metallum vago errore sectantur* (“who with vagrant wandering seek out the mineral gold”, tr. Pharr, adapted) and Firm. *math.* 8.17.8 *qui latentes auri et argenti venas...sollertibus inquisitionibus persequantur*. In 26.8.14 Amm. spoke about *eruendi peritos auri*, which probably also refers to gold diggers (for a different interpretation see the commentary ad loc., pp. 236–237). Technical terms for people engaged in this profession are found in the Theodosian Code: *aurilegulus* (10.19.9, 12; cf. *CIL* 3.1307 and Paul. Nol. *carm.* 17.269), *metallarius* (10.19.5, 6, 9, 15) and *metallicus* (10.19.15); for Amm.’s tendency to avoid technical terms see ad 20.11.5 (p. 252) and 21.16.18 (p. 273).

Of these terms *metallicus* denotes either ‘a miner’, ‘a man who works in a mine’ (e.g. Plin. *Nat.* 34.157, August. *serm.* 125.5), or ‘someone condemned to the mines’ (*Dig.* 48.19.10); TLL VIII 870.32–38. As a rule *aurilegulus* and *metallarius* are seen as synonyms of *metallicus* in the sense of ‘miner’ (witness e.g. Pharr’s translation of the Theodosian Code). However, Freu, 2012 has shown that both these words refer not so much to humble workers in a mine as to people of a higher social and economic position, who exploit a mine. She argues that Amm.’s *sequendarum auri venarum periti* belong to this category too, rather than to that of simple ‘miners’ (“ouvriers”, in Sabbah’s translation), because of their obligation to pay *vectigalia*. See for *vectigalia* Delmaire, 1989, 275 sqq., with on p. 275: “Tout impôt peut être qualifié de *vectigal*, y compris les levées annonnaires, mais on réserve plutôt ce mot aux impôts indirects et taxes d’utilisation du domaine public: “*publica vectigalia intellegere debemus ex quibus vectigal fiscus capit; quale est vectigal portus vel venalium rerum, item salinarum et metallorum et picariorum* (i.e. places where pitch is made) (Ulpian, *Dig.* L, 16.17)”. Note that in 31.14.2 Valens is praised for not allowing an increase in *vectigalia*: *nulla vectigalium admittens augmenta*.

The Thracian diocese was only one of the main gold-mining areas in the Roman Empire (cf. *Pan.* 2.28.2, Veg. *mil.* 4.24, Claud. *Cons. Mall. Theod.* 40–41, *Cod. Theod.* 10.19.7), next to Spain, Gaul, Dacia, Macedonia and Asia (Jones 838; Edmonson, 1999, 579; Demandt, 2007<sup>2</sup>, 410). The production of the mines in some parts of the empire (most of these were imperial property, but some were privately owned), had decreased in the course of time, reason for Valentinian and Valens to try to revitalize gold-mining by issuing in 365 *Cod. Theod.* 10.19.3, which promised that “any person who wished

the industry of mining to flourish by his own labor could acquire advantages both for himself and for the State" (*quicumque exercitium metallorum vellet adfluere, is labore proprio et sibi et rei publicae commoda compararet*, tr. Pharr, adapted). In this particular case the following was stipulated: *Itaque si qui sponte confluerint, eos laudabilitas tua octonos scripulos in balluca cogat exsolvere; quidquid autem amplius colligere potuerint, fisco potissimum distrahant, a quo conpetentia ex largitionibus nostris pretia suscipient* ("Therefore, if any persons voluntarily should come together in large numbers for this purpose, Your Laudability shall require such persons to pay eight scruples each of gold dust. Moreover, if they should be able to collect more, they shall preferably sell the same to the fisc, from which they shall receive any appropriate price from Our largesses", tr. Pharr). The measure was apparently not as successful as the emperors had hoped. At any rate, we hear more than once of gold diggers who tried to hide themselves or fled to other regions, and of attempts on the part of the emperors to force them to stick to their profession on a hereditary basis (*Cod. Theod.* 10.19.5, 6, 7 and 9, all issued during the reigns of Valentinian and Valens; cf. Edmonson, 1999, 580 and Lenski, 2002, 303–304). This is the context of Amm.'s statement that a number of gold diggers from Thrace could no longer endure the heavy burden of taxation and fled to join the Goths. See in general for the fiscal policy of the Pannonian brothers ad 27.7.7 (p. 177), 30.9.1 (pp. 184–186) and 31.14.2 (pp. 246–247).

*nec quidquam nisi inaccessum et devium praeuntibus isdem mansit intactum. sine distantia enim aetatis vel sexus caedibus incendiorumque magnitudine cuncta flagrabant abstractisque ab ipso uberum suctu parvulis et necatis raptae sunt matres et viduae maritis coniuges ante oculos caesis et puberes adultique pueri per parentum cadavera tracti sunt* Because of the guidance of the gold miners (*isdem*) the Goths were well informed about the depots of various materials and the residences of well-to-do people. This information was put to full use by the Gothic warriors, who killed young and old, burned houses, plundered to their hearts' content and took many women prisoners. Amm.'s description of the horrors caused by the brutal behaviour of the barbarians has a close parallel in 31.8.6–8, where sometimes the same words are used as in the present text (*incendiis, matribus, parvulos, puberum, adulta*). Socrates' description of what happened in Thrace is more sober: οἱ...βάρβαροι τὴν Θράκην κατειληφότες, ἐν ἀδείᾳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων καρπούμενοι χώραν τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν εὐεργετησάντων χωροῦσι καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ Θράκην ἀνέτρεπον ("The barbarians having been put into possession of Thrace, and securely enjoying that Roman land, were

unable to bear their good fortune with moderation; but committing hostile aggressions upon their benefactors, devastated all Thrace and the adjacent countries", tr. Zenos, slightly modified). *Sine distantia...aetatis vel sexus* is a standard element in descriptions of hostilities; cf. e.g. 16.11.9 (p. 158) *promisce virile et muliebre secus sine aetatis ullo discrimine trucidabant* and 24.4.25 (p. 137) *sine sexus discrimine vel aetatis*. As to *viduatae*, the word occurs twice in the *Res Gestae*; in 25.9.5, in contrast to the present text, women who had earlier lost their husbands are meant.

- 6.8 *senes denique multi ad satietatem vixisse clamantes post amissas opes cum speciosis feminis manibus post terga contortis defletisque gentilium favillis aedium ducebantur extorres* In the final scene the older men are led away into exile, having lost everything which made their life comfortable and worthwhile. Cf. with the *senes* of the present text the *ingenuus paulo ante dives et liber* of 31.8.8. See ad 25.6.14 (p. 217) for the two meanings of *contorquere*, 'to twist' and 'to hurl'; the former suits the present context. *Gentilium* means 'ancestral'. For *extorres* see ad 31.8.8 (p. 150).

## CHAPTER 7

### *Introduction*

Ammianus opens this chapter with the statement that Valens decided to leave Antioch and head for Constantinople (however, it is only in 31.11.1 that we hear of his actual departure). While the emperor instructed the *magister equitum* Victor to go to Persia in order to make an arrangement about the status of Armenia, he sent Profuturus and Traianus in advance to Thrace (§1). These generals were incompetent and had no notion of guerilla warfare (§1–2). Although they succeeded in driving the Goths beyond the mountain range of Haemus, there was no direct follow-up. The generals preferred to wait for the arrival of reinforcements sent by Gratian from the West under the command of Frigeridus (§3) and the *comes domesticorum* Richomeres (§4). It soon turned out that Frigeridus was unable to take part in the fighting, whereupon Richomeres added Frigeridus' troops to his own, and joined the eastern generals Profuturus and Traianus near the town of Salices—the location of this *oppidum Salices* is disputed. Not far from there the Goths had built their wagon laager (§5). At first the Romans did not start any action (§6). The Goths, too, remained in the same position for a long time, and even called the foragers, scattered over various places nearby, back to the wagon city (§7). Although the Goths became restless in their crowded laager, they kept quiet for the moment (§8). The Romans feared the superior numbers of the Goths as well as their crazy leaders, but were confident about the outcome of the impending battle (§9). On the next day the fighting started. The barbarians took an oath, and tried to reach some heights, from where they were able to rush down on the Romans, who, however, stood their ground (§10). The warriors of both parties, opposite to each other, stared for a while at their enemies. While the Romans sang their 'war-song' (*barritus*) and the Goths shouted and praised their forefathers, skirmishes began (§11). After a while the situation developed into a hand-to-hand fight, in which the Roman left wing gave way but was rescued by a body of reserves (§12). When the fighting grew heated, there was a huge slaughter on both sides. Those who fled were pursued by their opponents, cavalry as well as infantry (§13). Soon the battlefield was strewn with the corpses of those who had been killed in various ways (§14), but the battle continued, until finally the setting of the sun put a stop to

the murderous fighting, and those who had survived returned to their tents (§15). Some officers received an improvised burial, the bodies of the other dead became the prey of carrion birds. Both parties had suffered heavy losses (§16).

- 7.1 *Haec ex Thraciis magno maerore accepta Valentem principem in sollicitudines varias distraxerunt* When the news of the disastrous events which had taken place in Thrace in 377 reached Valens, he was probably back again in Antioch. As we have seen (ad 31.1.2, p. 3), during his stay in the East the emperor resided mostly in the Syrian capital, but in the summer of 377 he stayed for a while in Hierapolis (*Cod. Theod.* 10.16.3 of July 6, 377 and 7.6.3 of August 9, 377; cf. *Cod. Theod.* 6.2.12). For the diocese of Thrace see above ad 31.4.5 (pp. 65–66), for *princeps* ad 31.1.2 (p. 4). Valens was faced with many dilemma's, as some of his predecessors had been; cf. e.g. *in varia sese consilia diducens* (20.11.24), *distrahebatur multiformibus curis* (22.10.1) and the examples mentioned ad 20.1.1 (p. 4). Such phrases are reminiscent of Vergil's description of Aeneas' hesitation in seeking the right words to address Dido in *A.* 4. 285–286; see for this ad 20.4.6 (p. 65).

*et confestim Victore magistro equitum misso ad Persas, ut super Armeniae statu pro captu rerum componeret impendentium* For Victor (*PLRE* I, Victor 4), already *magister equitum* under Jovian, see ad 24.1.2 (pp. 9–10) and 26.5.2 (p. 100) and Roberto, 2003; for the function of *magister equitum* ad 20.1.2 (p. 5) and 25.8.9 (pp. 264–265). Victor had been sent on embassies by Valens before, to the Goths in 366 (27.5.1, p. 103) and in 369 (27.5.9), to the Persians, within the scope of the conflict over Armenia, in 376: *imperator... Victorem magistrum equitum et Urbicium Mesopotamiae ducem ire propere iussit in Persas* (30.2.4, p. 36). He was now sent as an envoy to Persia for a second time, again concerning Armenia; cf. Drijvers, 2016, 582–583. The phrase *pro captu* occurs ten times in the *Res Gestae* (see for the list ad 14.11.4, p. 118); it means 'as far as is possible in a particular situation'. As to *impendentium*, it is noted ad 24.5.12 (p. 167) that the verb *impendere* can be used in a neutral sense to denote something which is in the air, but it can also imply the threat of evil. Amm. has a predilection for the nominalization of the plur. part. praes. neutr. (see ad 31.3.2, p. 41). The absence of a direct object with *componeret* expresses that whichever agreement was reached, Valens could concentrate on the Gothic danger. According to Eun. *fr.* 42, p. 62 Blockley peace was made: Βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἐπύθετο τῶν ἀδιηγῆτων κακῶν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας ἀναγκαίαν εἰρήνην συνθέμενος ('The Emperor Valens, when he learned of these indescribable catastrophes, of necessity made

peace with the Persians”, tr. Blockley), but the reliability of this statement has been questioned (Blockley, 1987, 229 n. 30). Zos. 4.21.1 is less outspoken and closer to Amm.’s *pro captu rerum...impudentium*: ὁ δὲ τὰ πρὸς Πέρσας ὡς ἐνῆν διαθέμενος (‘Valens arranged his affairs in Persia in the best possible manner’). Whatever Victor was able to achieve (see for discussion, also of Armenian sources, Blockley, 1987, 228–229, Blockley, 1992, 37–38 and Lenski, 2002, 184–185), “his mission to the Persian court cannot have lasted long, since he returned to the west in time to take part in the battle of Adrianople” (Greatrex, 2000, 41); Victor is mentioned again in 31.12.6 and 31.13.9.

*ipse Antiochia protinus egressurus, ut Constantinopolim interim peteret, Profuturum praemisit et Traianum, ambo rectores anhelantes quidem altius, sed imbelles* The words *Antiochia protinus egressurus* suggest that it was Valens’ intention to leave Antioch at once, that is, still in 377; cf. Philost. *HE* 9.17 Οὐάλης δὲ ταῦτα πεπυσμένος ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας ἀπαίρει, Socr. *HE* 3.35.3 Ταῦτα οὕτως ἐπιγενόμενα εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθόντα τοῦ Οὐάλεντος...εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἦλθεν. However, it is apparent from 31.11.1 (p. 182) that he left the Syrian capital much later (*tandem*), presumably in late April or early May 378. Profuturus (*PLRE* I, Profuturus 2) and Traianus (*PLRE* I, Traianus 2) are also mentioned together in 31.7.5 and 31.8.3. Traianus had been mentioned before (see ad 29.1.2, pp. 4–5), the name of Profuturus, who is only known from the *Res Gestae*, occurs here for the first time.

As is noted ad 20.1.1 (p. 4) and 20.5.7 (pp. 125–126), *rector* is a very general word, used by Amm. for all kinds of high-ranking officers and officials, including the emperor. Valens is also called *rector* in 29.2.14, 30.1.4 and 30.2.7. Traianus must have been *magister peditum* at the time (cf. 31.11.1 *pedestris exercitus...quem regebat antea Traianus*, pp. 184–185), after he had served in Armenia, presumably as *comes rei militaris* (30.1.18, p. 21). Profuturus’ function is unknown; scholars regard him either as *comes rei militaris* (so e.g. the authors of the *PLRE*) or as *magister equitum*; the latter seems more likely: “Profuturus und Traianus werden an drei Stellen...nebeneinander und ohne Distinktion genannt, daher sind sie auch in derselben Rangstellung zu betrachten” (Demandt, 1970, 705–706). As is explained ad 28.1.31 (p. 70), the verb *anhelare* can be used to express ambition. In the case of the two generals their qualities did not match their ambition. TLL VII 1.419.50 gives this general meaning of *imbellis*: “non aptus bello”; in 18.5.5 we find the combination *imbellis et ignavus*. Amm. is not the only author who criticizes Traianus: when the general was back in Constantinople after his campaign in Thrace he was accused of cowardice, according to Thdt. *HE* 4.33.2 (cf. 4.34.1); see below, ad 31.11.1.



- 7.2 *qui cum ad loca venissent, ubi particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia multitudo minui deberet hostilis, ad id, quod erat perniciosum, intempestive conversi legiones ab Armenia ductas opposuere vesanum adhuc spirantibus barbaris opere quidem Martio saepe recte compertas, sed impares plebi immensae, quae celsorum iuga montium occuparat et campos* The adverb *particulatim*, ‘in parts’, ‘bit by bit’ (TLL X 1.514.22 et seq.), is found four times in Amm.; the other passages are 23.6.80, 29.5.35 and 31.15.7. For the expression *per...furta...et latrocinia* see 16.9.1 (p. 103) and 19.13.1 (p. 275). *Perniciosus* is one of Amm.’s favourite adjectives; in Book 31 it occurs also in 31.5.1, 31.8.1 (p. 143), 31.10.15 and 31.12.9. Amm. uses *intempestive/intempestivus* either stricto sensu, ‘untimely’, ‘at the wrong moment’, or in the wider sense of ‘inappropriate’, ‘tactless’, as in 22.7.3 (p. 76) and in the present text.

The difficulties of guerilla warfare proved to be too much for the Roman commanders. In the given topographical situation and in view of the superior number of the soldiers of their opponents, Profuturus and Traianus should have devised a strategy of ‘small steps’, but instead they turned to one which was ill-timed and therefore fatal: they drew up the legions which they had brought over from Armenia against the still frenzied barbarians. As to *legiones ab Armenia ductas*, it is noted ad 27.12.16 (pp. 290–291) and 30.1.7 (p. 10), that it is very hard to assess the size of army units, including legions, in the later Roman period, but that a legion probably numbered between 500 and 2000 men; according to *Not. Dign. Or.* 38.13, 14, 16 there were only three legions under the command of the *dux Armeniae*, the *legio XV Apollinaris*, the *legio XII Fulminata* and the *legio I Pontica*. Even if Profuturus and Traianus had more troops at their disposal than these three legions, as seems likely, and although these legions had often shown their competence in the domain of Mars (*opere quidem Martio saepe recte compertas*; cf. TLL III 2057.26–32 for *compertus* “i.q. spectatus”), the Roman force was small compared to the immense multitude of Goths who had occupied both the mountain ranges and the plains. Amm. is not specific about the topography, but from § 3 *ultra Haemi montis abscisos scopulos* we may assume that these mountains and plains were not far from the Haemus mountain range.

- 7.3 *hi numeri nondum experti, quid cum desperatione rabies valeret indomita, trusos hostes ultra Haemi montis abscisos scopulos faucibus impegere praeurpatis* See for *numerus*, which in the fourth century is used as a generic term for army units, ad 20.1.3 (p. 7) and 27.8.7 (pp. 196–197). For *rabies* said of barbarians see ad 27.9.1 (p. 204). The combination of *desperatio* and *rabies* occurs more often in various authors, e.g. *furentibus desperatione ac rabie* (Liv. 37.32.6), *ad summam perducta rabiem quae nunquam nisi ex despera-*

*tione fit* (Sen. *Contr.* 7.6.14), while we find *indomitam...rabiem* in Hor. *Epod.* 12.9. The verb *trudere* means ‘to push’ or ‘drive’ a person into a place or situation where he does not want to be: *trusi in angustias* (16.11.3), *trusus ad necessitatem extremam* (20.4.18), *trusus in carcerem* (28.6.24). In the present text the Roman soldiers, who obviously came from the south, drove the Goths “beyond the precipitous crags of Mount Haemus and forced them into the steep defiles” (tr. Rolfe). The Thracian mountain range of Haemus (Turkish ‘Balkan’, Bulgarian ‘Stara Planina’, Talbert 22B–D6) was already mentioned in 21.10.3 (p. 133); add to the literature cited there Lozanov, 2012. For *scopuli* cf. 27.4.7 *scopuli...Rhodopes*, for *fauces* (“i.q. angustiae montibus sim. inclusae, quae exitum in loca aperta praebent”, TLL VI 1.398.3–4) cf. 24.4.30 *collectam stipulam et sarmenta specuum faucibus aggresserunt* (“they gathered straw and faggots and piled them before the entrances of the caves”, tr. Rolfe). Among the various suggestions to change V’s *insidere*, Heraeus’ *inpegere* (ind. perf. of *inpingere*/*impingere*) is the most attractive, because it follows its synonym *trudere*. In view of Amm.’s wording one has to assume that the Goths, though forced to retreat north of the Haemus range, remained on mountainous ground, which rules out, as Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 447 rightly argues, that they were driven far into Moesia Secunda, let alone into Scythia (see for this view e.g. Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 406; Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 440; Wanke, 1990, 148–149).

*ut barbaros in locis incultis nusquam repperientes exitum diuturna consumeret fames* Seyfarth’s text differs considerably from the reading of V: *ut in barbaros in barbaros locis et in solis numquam repperiens exitum diuturna consumeret fames*. “Si tratta...di uno dei passi più tormentati dal punto di vista testuale di tutto il libro 31”. Thus Ronci, 2008, 276 in an article in which she discusses the conjectures listed in Seyfarth’s app. crit., and those of Sabbah and Viansino in their editions. Ronci further adds some conjectures of her own. Ronci, Viansino and Sabbah have in common that they keep V’s *rep(p)erients*, following Petschenig, 1892, 690: “*repperiens* mit Valesius in *reperientes* zu ändern ist unnöthig, da ein Schriftsteller wie Ammian, der hundertmal das Abstraktum statt des Konkretum setzt, ganz gut von einem Hunger sprechen konnte der nirgends einen Ausweg fand”. Cf. *repperiens* in 31.8.1, where the text does not pose any problems: *hostium multitudo compacta nullosque repperiens exitus*. As to an attribute to *locis*, the occurrence of *solitudines* in 31.8.1 makes it attractive to keep V’s *solis*; for *solus*, ‘solitary’, cf. 18.7.2 *per loca...deserta et sola*. In short, it seems plausible to read with Sabbah *ut barbaros locis in solis numquam repperiens exitum diuturna consumeret fames*.

*et opperirentur ipsi Frigeridum ducem cum Pannonicis et transalpinis auxiliis adventantem, quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire disposuit in procinctum laturum suppetias his, qui ad ultimum vexabantur exitium* This is the first time that Frigeridus (*PLRE* I, Frigeridus) appears in the *Res Gestae*; he was possibly a German (cf. Waas, 1971<sup>2</sup>, 82–83). Frigeridus is further mentioned in 31.7.5, 31.9.1 and 31.10.21. As is noted ad 29.6.3 (pp. 228–229), he must have been identical with the Frigeridus referred to on brick stamps found at Bócsaújtelep and Hatvan-Gombospusztá in modern Hungary and was *dux Valeriae* in the years 369/370–373/374. Did he still (or again) hold this function in 377? In other words, is Amm.'s *ducem* to be taken in the technical sense of 'zone commander of the frontier troops in the Illyrian province of Valeria', or should we assume that, as so often in Amm. (cf. ad 21.7.1, p. 95, 25.5.1, p. 171 and 28.2.6, p. 131), the term is used rather loosely in the sense of 'general'? Both interpretations have found supporters. See for the first e.g. Stroheker, 1955, 320. Those scholars, who opt for the second possibility, differ in their opinion as to Frigeridus' precise function: according to some he was *magister equitum per Illyricum* (e.g. Von Nischer, 1928, 446–447; Ensslin, 1931, 132; Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 441), others see in him a *comes rei militaris* (e.g. Lörincz, 1985, 234 and, hesitantly, the authors of *PLRE* I); Demandt, 1970, 600–601 and Wachtel, 2000 discuss the various possibilities. Wachtel further points to an inscription (*Iatrus* p. 312) on a tile found in 1997 at Iatrus, a fortification at the Danube frontier near modern Krivina in Bulgaria (Wanke, 1990, 32; Talbert 22 C 5), with the letters ALESFRIGDV (= *officiales, principales* [or another word ending on *-ales*] *Frigeridus dux*). The inscription refers possibly to Amm.'s *dux* Frigeridus, who, on his way from Pannonia to Thrace in 377, may have stopped at Iatrus. If so, he was still (or again) *dux Valeriae*, unless one assumes with Wachtel, 2000, 912, "daß er nach der Valeria einen anderen Dukat—unter Rangerhöhung zum *comes et dux* und *vir clarissimus*—erhalten hat".

We can only guess at the strength of the Pannonian and transalpine reinforcements under Frigeridus' command ("*auxilia* ist hier wohl lediglich in funktionellem Sinne—"Truppen zur Unterstützung"—und nicht als spezifische Truppengattungsbezeichnung gemeint", Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 2, 180 n. 56). *Not. Dign. Occ.* 33 gives an overview of the troops *sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis provinciae Valeriae ripensis* at the time the *Notitia Dignitatum* was written. For other troops in Illyricum at that time see the chapters concerning the *dux Pannoniae* (*Occ.* 32), the *dux Pannoniae Primae* (*Occ.* 34) and the *magister militum per Illyricum* (*Or.* 9). The context makes clear that the adj. *transalpinus*, 'lying beyond the Alps', is used here in the sense of 'western, from the West', and comes close to *Gallicanus* in

29.6.16, where it is reported that (in 374) “a strong force of Gallic troops had been added to the defence of Illyricum” (*ad tutelam Illyrici Gallicani militis validum accesserat robur*, tr. Rolfe; cf. also the note ad § 4). Note for the meaning of *transalpinus* the difference with 20.4.4 (cf. 20.4.16), where it is said that the troops in Gaul had been promised that they would not be transferred eastwards (*ne ducerentur ad partes umquam transalpinas*). Valens’ nephew Gratian (*PLRE* I, Gratianus 2) is mentioned here for the first time in Book 31; see for him ad 26.9.1 (p. 242) and add to the literature cited there Castillo, 2016. He still resided in Trier, where his late father Valentinian had left him when he himself headed for Illyricum in 375 (cf. 30.10.1 *Gratianus agebat tum apud Treveros, ubi profecturus eum morari disposuerat pater*). For *procinctus*, ‘campaign’, see ad 16.11.6 (p. 153). As is noted ad 20.4.1 (p. 53), *ferre suppetias* is an archaic expression, which occurs a few times in Plautus and then again in Apuleius; Amm. uses it ten times, in this book also in 31.8.3 and 31.13.2.

*post quem Richomeres, domesticorum tunc comes, imperatu eiusdem Gratiani motus e Galliis properavit ad Thracias ductans cohortes aliquas nomine tenus, quarum pars pleraque deseruerat, ut iactavere quidam, Merobaudis suasu veriti, ne destitutae adminiculis Galliae vastarentur licenter Rheno perrupto* The Frank Richomeres (*PLRE* I, Richomeres; Waas, 1971<sup>2</sup>, 101–103; Stroheker, 1955, 326–329), who was *tunc*, i.e. in 377, *comes domesticorum* and still held this function in 378 (31.12.4), was later assigned to other posts; he is called *comes et magister utriusque militiae* in *Cod. Theod.* 7.1.13 of 27 May 391; in 384 he was consul (Bagnall et al., 1987, 302–303); for his *amicitia* with Symmachus see Salzman, 2006, esp. 358–359. In the *Res Gestae* Richomeres is further mentioned in 31.7.5; 8.2; 12.15; 12.17; 13.9. See for the function of *comes domesticorum* ad 20.4.21 (p. 107); in 31.10.6 (p. 166) we meet another *comes domesticorum*, Mallobaudes, also a Frank. Note the use of *idem* as an anaphoric pronomen (‘just mentioned’). See for *motus* OLD s.v. *moveo* 6 (refl. or pass.): “to proceed or pass from one place to another”.

See 15.11.1–18 with De Jonge’s commentary (pp. 57–75) for a description of the Gallic dioceses, and above ad 31.4.5 (pp. 65–66) for *Thraciae*. In 374 troops from Gaul had been transferred to Illyricum (29.6.16, quoted in the preceding section). In November 375, when Valentinian had died, they were still there (30.10.1 *cohortibus Gallicanis*). Presumably, these troops belonged to the Pannonian and transalpine reinforcements Frigeridus had taken with him to Thrace, as mentioned in the preceding section, and the *cohortes* of the present text, led by Richomeres, were fresh troops. Another possibility is that the *cohortes Gallicanae* of 30.10.1 had gone back to Gaul and were now ordered to march eastwards again. The word *cohors* is here, accord-

ing to Müller, 1905, 574, “nur Bezeichnung irgend einer unbestimmbaren Infanterieabtheilung”, but, as is noted ad 21.11.2 (p. 148), *cohors* in Amm. can be used for both units of infantry and cavalry; see further Brennan, 2015. The phrase ‘abl. + *tenus*’ occurs rarely; cf. for *nomine tenus* Tac. *Ann.* 15.6.4 *usurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugnationes dictitans*, “saying that only in name had he made a practice of storming cities” (tr. Furneaux; see Koestermann ad loc.). Richomeres’ troops were ‘only in name cohorts’, that is, they were not up to strength. Cf. for *deserere* “sine obiecto...de militibus” (TLL V 1.682.85) e.g. Nep. *Eum.* 5.1, Tac. *Ann.* 13.35.4 and Löfstedt, 1910, 181–182.

For the *magister peditum* Merobaudes (*PLRE* I, Merobaudes 2), in 377 consul together with Gratian and in 383 consul for the second time, see ad 28.6.29 (p. 300), 30.5.13 (p. 126) and 31.8.2 (p. 144); add to the literature cited there Naudé, 1987. Merobaudes was, like Richomeres, of Frankish origin and *magister peditum* already under Valentinian. It is not for the first time that we hear of the fear, pretended (*ut iactavere quidam*; cf. for the expression 15.5.4 *ut iactavere rumores incerti*) or real, that, “if Gaul should be deprived of its defences, it would be laid waste at will by raids from across the Rhine” (tr. Rolfe). In 30.10.3 (p. 202) Amm. had written that Merobaudes pretended to have received orders (from Valentinian, before he died) to return to Gaul to guard the Rhine border against an increasing barbarian threat: *missam ad se tesseram finxit redeundi cum eo* (i.e. ‘with the Gallic troops’) *ad observandas Rheni ripas quasi furore barbarico crudescente*. In 20.4.10 Julian’s soldiers complain: “*nos quidem ad orbis terrarum extrema ut noxii pellimur et damnati, caritates vero nostrae Alamannis denuo servient, quas captivitate prima post internecivas liberavimus pugnās*”. As is noted ad 21.12.21 (p. 180), Amm. sometimes uses *adminicula* as a synonym of *copiae auxiliares*.

- 7.5 *verum articulorum dolore Frigerido praepedito vel certe, ut obtrectatores finire malivoli, morbum causante, ne ferventibus proeliis interesset* Frigeridus was unable to take part in the action (cf. for *ferventibus proeliis* §13 below: *fervente...proelio*) because of ‘pain in his joints’, that is, because he suffered from arthritis (cf. Cael. Aur. *chron.* 5.2.27 *podagra pedum tantummodo dolor est, arthritis vero etiam cunctorum articulorum sive multorum*, Gloss. III 597.1 *arthritis dolor qui iuncturis contigit ex humore melancholico, descendit per ossa et coagulationem sanguinis accipit et dolorem facit*, III 489.33 *articuli, articulorum dolor* ἀρθρίτις, TLL II 688.67–83 and II 692.10 et seq.), or, so Frigeridus’ detractors fabricated, because he feigned illness as an excuse for his absence in the heated battles. *Vel certe* seems to be used here “debilitata vi restrictionis”, introducing “aliud argumentum vel aliam interpretationem

sim.” (TLL III 939.51–53; cf. for *vel certe* also ad 25.2.6, p. 51). For *obtrectatores* see ad 20.2.1 (p. 11), for *obtrectatores...malivoli* cf. 22.12.3 *obtrectatores desides et maligni*; for the combination *obtrectatores finxere* cf. 17.1.14 *obtrectatoribus...fingentibus*.

*universos regens ex communi sententia Richomeres Profuturo sociatur et Traiano tendentibus prope oppidum Salices* Richomeres (see for him the preceding section) now added Frigeridus’ troops (mentioned in § 3) to his own and thus, as commander of the whole force coming from the West (*universos regens*), joined the eastern generals Profuturus and Traianus, who were his superiors in rank (see for them sections 1 and 2), near the town of Salices; for *tendere*, ‘to encamp’, see ad 23.2.6 (p. 29).

The precise location of *oppidum Salices* is not known. The town is often identified with *Ad Salices* (*Itin. Anton. Aug.* 227.1), mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary between *Valle Domitiana* (226.5) and *Historio* (i.e. Histria; 227.2), and sought near Babadag by Seeck, 1920–1923<sup>2-4</sup>, V, 107, near Tomi by Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 406 (cf. Kulikowski, 2007, 137: “between Tomi and the opening out of the Danube delta into its many channels”) and near Șase Martie (nowadays Sâlcioara) by Wanke, 1990, 157–158. These sites have in common that they are all situated in the Roman province of Scythia, i.e. the Romanian part of the Dobruja, east of the Danube (thus also De Jaeghere, 2014, carte 2 at the end of his book). However, as Elliott, 1983, 273 n. 7, Heather, 1991, 144 and especially Szidat, 1998, 25–30 have pointed out, in 31.8.1 Amm. locates the *oppidum Salices* near Marcianopolis (modern Devnja in Bulgaria, at a distance of more than 250 km from Sâlcioara). Moreover, he relates in 31.7.3, that the confrontation between Romans and Goths occurred not far from the Haemus mountain range, while his expression *tumulosos locos* in 31.7.10 fits better with a place in the Haemus region than with one in the north of the Dobruja. “Die bei Amm. 31,7,5 und im Itin. Anton. Aug. 227,1 erwähnten Orte sollten daher als zwei verschiedene Orte mit gleichlautenden Namen betrachtet werden” (Szidat, 1998, 29).

*unde haud longo spatio separatum vulgus inaestimabile barbarorum ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum tamquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis otio fruebatur et ubertate praedarum* The huge multitude of Goths (cf. *multitudo...hostilis* and *plebi immensae* in § 2) was not far away. The adj. *inaestimabilis* means “incalculably great” (OLD s.v. 2). The Goths had arranged their wagons in a circle (*ad orbis rotundi figuram*), within which (for the moment, but see *necessitas evocarat* in § 8) they enjoyed their ‘leisure’ (*otio*) and the large amount of booty. In § 7 (p. 130) we learn that they

themselves called such an arrangement *carrago* ('Wagenburg', 'wagon city', 'laager'). It was not unusual among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples to use their wagons as a means of defence ("les chariots sont potentiellement un grand bouclier protecteur", Chauvot, 2010, 233). According to *Veg. mil.* 3.10 *omnes barbari carris suis in orbem conexis ad similitudinem castrorum securas a superventibus exigunt noctes* ("all barbarians spend nights secure from attack behind their wagons linked together in a circle like a military camp", tr. Milner). We already saw this in 31.2.18 with respect to the Alans: *in orbiculatam figuram locatis sarracis*, and we shall see it again in 31.8.1 *Gothi intra vehiculorum amfractus sponte sua contrusi*, 31.12.11 *hostium carpenta...ad speciem rotunditatis detornatae digesta* and 31.15.5 *reversi...ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plastrorum*. Cf. Claud. *In Ruf.* 2.124–129, about the Goths of Alaric in 395 A.D.: *vix Alpes transgressus erat* (Stilicho), *nec amplius errat / barbarus adventumque tremens se cogit in unam / planitiem tutoque includit pascua gyro; / tum duplici fossa non exuperabile vallum / asperat alternis sudibus murique locata / in speciem caesis obtendit plastra iuvencis* ("Scarce had Stilicho crossed the Alps when the barbarian hordes began to restrict their forays and for fear of his approach gathered together in the plain and enclosed their pasture lands within a defensive ring. They then built an impregnable fortification with a double moat, planted stakes two deep at intervals along its summit and set wagons rigged with ox-hide all round like a wall", tr. Platnauer). See further Caes. *Gal.* 1.26.3 *pro vallo carros obiecerant* (cf. 1.51.2 *omnemque aciem suam raedis et carris circumdederunt*), Flor. *Epit.* 1.38.16 (3.3.16), Arr. *An.* 5.22.4, Oros. *hist.* 5.16.17 *plastris in modum castrorum circumstructis*, Iord. *Get.* 210 and in general Sadée, 1938, Nefedkin, 2002 and Chauvot, 2010, who has some highly speculative thoughts on the significance of the circle; for the wagon laager in later centuries see Żygulski, 1994.

- 7.6 *Praevia igitur spe meliorum Romani duces, si fors copiam attulisset, ausuri aliquid gloriosum Gothos, quidquid molirentur, sagaciter observabant id scilicet praestruentes, ut, si aliorum castra movissent, quod fecere creberrime, terga ultimorum adorti plures perfoderent contis magnamque spoliolum averterent partem* The 'Roman generals' are Richomeres, Profuturus and Traianus (cf. for them ad § 4 and § 1–2, respectively); see for *duces* above, ad § 3. Amm. uses *praeivus*, 'leading the way', in various contexts, e.g. *Victorem comitem exercitus praeivum* (24.4.31), *adoriuntur nos elephantis praeivis Persae* (25.6.2). One wonders whether in the present text *praevia...spe meliorum* is a positive statement. The *duces* hoped for better results and keenly watched for any move by the Goths, but since, as becomes clear in the

next section, the Goths *in eodem loco diu manserunt*, this strategy failed to bring results. Amm. is fond of conditional phrases of the type *si fors copiam attulisset/dedisset/detulisset*; cf. the note ad 27.8.2 (pp. 184–185). For *contus*, “hasta longissima, equitum potissimum et barbarorum” (TLL IV 809.25) see ad 25.1.13 (p. 25) and for *avertere*, ‘to steal’ OLD s.v. 7.

*hoc intellecto hostes vel transfugarum indiciiis docti, per quos nihil latebat incognitum, in eodem loco diu manserunt* The Goths themselves inferred the intention of the Romans either from their conduct (*hoc intellecto*) or else they had information provided by defectors at their disposal, as so often happened in these years; see 31.6.5–6 *dediticiis vel captivis vicos uberes ostendentibus*, 31.15.2 *docti per proditores et transfugas*, 31.16.1 *docentibus omnia perfugis*; cf. further 31.11.3, 15.4, 15.8–9. Amm. uses *perfuga* and *transfuga* as synonyms, cf. the note ad 21.13.4 (p. 196), where inter alia Fest. p. 214 M is cited: *Perfugam Gallus Aelius ait, qui liber, aut servus [aut hostis] sua voluntate ad hostes transierit; qui idem dicitur transfuga*. 7.7

It is clear from the cited texts that some Gothic soldiers in the Roman army behaved treacherously, but in general the Goths who served in the Late Roman army together with many other barbarians (cf. Jones 619–623 and see ad 31.16.8) were loyal, unless they were provoked (cf. e.g. 31.6.1–3). Among the units named after barbarian tribes in the *Notitia Dignitatum* is the *cohors prima Gothorum* (Or. 33.32)

*sed oppositi exercitus metu praestrici aliorumque militum, quos affluere iam sperabant, tessera data gentili per diversa prope diffusas accivere vastatorias manus* For a long time the Goths remained in the same spot, ‘overcome by fear’, *metu praestrici*; see for this expression 21.9.7 *imperatorii nominis metu praestricus* and 30.6.2 *metu debiles et praestrici*, and for Amm.’s frequent use of the verb *praestringere* ad 21.7.2 (p. 98). They feared their enemy’s present forces, but also those who were expected to join them; note that *sperabant* does not mean ‘they hoped’, but rather ‘they feared’; cf. De Jonge ad 14.7.5 (p. 20). The word *tessera* occurs nine times in the *Res Gestae*, of which seven times in a Roman military context: 14.2.15 (p. 117), 14.6.17, 21.5.13 (p. 71), 23.2.2, 25.7.2, 30.10.3, 31.11.2 (p. 185). Here *tessera data gentili* is used of the Goths, as is *vexillis de more sublati* in 31.5.8; for *gentilis* “i.q. ἑγχώριος, patrius, vernaculus, certae nationis proprius sim.” see TLL VI 2.1867.72 et seq. Cf. for *vastatorias manus* ad 18.6.9 (p. 175); the adj. occurs only in Amm., in this book also in 31.9.3 and 31.11.4. Hordes of ravaging Goths were mentioned in 31.5.9 and 31.6.5–8. As can be deduced from the words *regressae* in this section and *reversis* in § 8, the hordes of the present text had been sent from



the 'Wagenburg' mentioned in § 5. See for *per diversa*, 'far and wide', above ad 31.2.15 (p. 31) and note that *prope* is an adverb: 'in the neighbourhood'.

*quae optimatum acceptis...statimque incensi malleoli ad carraginem, quam ita ipsi appellant, aliti velocitate regressae incentivum audendi maiora popularibus addiderunt* To repair V's corrupt text we need a word meaning 'order' in the abl. plur., and a word meaning 'like' to introduce the comparison with the firedart. Various suggestions have been made (see the app. crit.), none of them is really convincing. For the use of *optimates* for non-Romans see above, ad 31.2.7 (p. 23). The quick return of the men who had received the *tessera* is compared with a firedart (see for *malleolus* the detailed information ad 23.4.14, p. 78): they returned *aliti velocitate*, "with winged speed" (tr. Rolfe); cf. 21.9.6 *sed ille ut fax vel incensus malleolus volucriter ad destinata festinans* (p. 122).

With *carrago*, a Germanic loanword (*carrus* + *hag* [enclosure]), found in the *Res Gestae* only here, Amm. refers to the wagon city he had described in § 5 (*vulgus ... ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum tamquam intramuranis cohibitum spatiis*). *Carrago* occurs five times in the HA, where it not only can have the meaning of 'wagon city', 'laager', but also of 'wagon train': *Gall.* 13.9, *Cl.* 6.6, 8.2 and 8.5, *A.* 11.6. It has been noted by Straub, 1952, 19–39 that in the HA the word is used without any explanation, whereas Amm. in the present text adds *quam ita ipsi appellant*, which, according to Straub, suggests that the historian was aware that he was using an unusual word. This led him to the supposition that the author of the HA wrote at a later date than Amm., and possibly imitated him in his description of the Gothic invasions of the third century. This was further elaborated by Den Hengst, 1987, 170–174 (= 2010, 119–122), who pointed to a number of parallels between Amm. 31.7 and chapters 10–11 of the *vita Aureliani*; see also Paschoud's commentary ad loc. (pp. 88–89), and Rohrbacher, 2016, 135–139. Whatever the case, the fact that Amm. adds *quam ita ipsi appellant* does not prove that *carrago* was an unfamiliar term for him. As A. and A. Cameron, 1964 have shown, this is the way in which Amm. normally apologizes for using non-Roman words; cf. 31.12.8 *Christiani ritus presbyter, ut ipsi appellant* (p. 205). For the Greek form see e.g. Leo VI, *Tactica* 11.39 *καραγὸν δὲ λέγομεν τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὸν δι' αὐτῶν περιτειχισμὸν τοῦ φοσσάτου* ("karagos is the term we use for the wagons and the defensive wall they form around the camp", tr. Dennis). See for other examples Rance, 2015, 56–57, who inter alia observes: "Up until the end of the fifth century, both the term *carrago* and the practice of using such wagon-laagers are attested only in connection with barbarian forces...It is not until Maurice's *Strategicon*...that a Roman author applies

this term to a Roman military wagon-train"; cf. e.g. Maur. *Strat.* 12 B 7, p. 424 Dennis and 12 B 22, p. 478.

*nihil post haec inter partes praeter indutias laxatum est breves. reversis enim his, quos necessitas evocarat, plebs omnis intra saeptorum ambitum etiamtum contrusa immaniter fremens animisque concita truculentis experiri postrema discrimina nec principibus gentis, qui aderant, renuentibus cruditate festinabat* For *laxare*, 'to concede' (TLL VII 2.1074.42 sqq.), see ad 20.11.9 (p. 259), for *indutiae* see ad 20.7.5 (p. 160) and 20.8.9 (p. 196). 7.8

With *reversis his, quos necessitas evocarat* Amm. must refer to the *vastatoriae manus* of the preceding section. *Evocare* is to be taken as a synonym of "avocare, sevocare" (TLL V 2.1061.46 sqq.). But what does *necessitas* mean? Viansino in his translation renders the word with "necessità [bisogni naturali]", and in his explanatory notes compares its use with that in 25.4.6 *necessitatem...naturae* (p. 127), but it seems rather odd that Amm. would have expressed the thought that 'sexual desires' had elicited groups of Goths out of their laager in this way. "Shortage of food or water" (Seager 60) seems a better interpretation (cf. 19.8.8, 25.8.7 *gramina...solacia necessitatis extremae*, 25.8.15); it tallies with 31.7.3, where Amm. says that it was the strategy of the Romans *ut barbaros...diuturna consumeret fames*. At first the Goths, safe and sound in their wagon city, had enjoyed their leisure and a large amount of booty (*otio fruebatur et ubertate praedarum*, § 5), but, since they remained in the same spot for a long time (*in eodem loco diu manserunt*, § 7), necessity had forced them to send detachments out of their laager to forage (*vastatorias manus*, § 7), which had now returned (*reversis*; cf. *regressae* in § 7), and had apparently been successful (*capto per otium cibo*, § 8).

After the return of their fellow tribesmen, the Gothic multitude (cf. for *plebs omnis* § 2 above, *plebi immensae*) remained "within the ring of their defences" (tr. Rolfe), where they had their *tentoria* (§ 15 below). Cf. 31.8.1 *Gothi intra vehiculorum amfractus sponte sua contrusi* and see for *contrudere* "i.q. detrudere, inicere, cogere, coartare" TLL IV 789.18 sqq. The ferocious shouting of the barbarians (*immaniter fremens*) expressed their inflamed aggressiveness (*animisque concita truculentis*), and must have been a horrifying experience for their opponents; as to *immaniter*, cf. the note ad 30.3.3 (p. 52), where it is inter alia noted that there are more than seventy instances of *immanis*, *immaniter* and *immanitas* taken together in the *Res Gestae* (Seager 14: "No other author shares Ammianus's obsession with the word *immanis*"); for *fremere* and *fremitus* "als Charakteristikum für das verworrene Geschrei ungeordneter Haufen und für typisch barbarische Laute" see Bitter 141.

The verb *festinare* in combination with an inf. means “to be anxious or impatient to” (OLD s.v. 4b). Rather than wait patiently within the safety of their laager, the *plebs omnis* of the Goths was impatient “to try the extremest dangers” (tr. Rolfe), and their leaders did not disapprove (*nec principibus gentis, qui aderant, renuentibus*). Editores and other scholars are puzzled by *cruditate*. This noun occurs quite often in various Roman authors with the meaning ‘indigestion’ (TLL IV 1233.3 sqq.), which it also has in Amm.’s only other instance, in 25.10.13 (pp. 334–335), about the most probable cause of Jovian’s death (*ex colluvione ciborum avida cruditate distentus*). This poses a problem for the present text. Hence a number of (not very convincing) conjectures, e.g. *cupiditate* <*praecipiti*> (Heraeus, accepted by Rolfe) and *conci-tate* (Petschenig). TLL IV.1234.4 regards the word *cruditas* here as a synonym of *crudelitas*, and although there are no parallels for this use, this might well be right, in view of the fact, pointed out in n. 457 of the Budé-edition, that the adj. *crudus* frequently occurs in the *Res Gestae* with the meaning “cruentus” or “crudelis” (cf. TLL IV 1236.24 sqq.), e.g. in 26.4.4, 28.1.10, 30.8.4 and 31.8.8; cf. also the note ad 26.6.8 (p. 143). Sabbah’s suggestion, to read *cruditati* instead of *cruditate* and to take the word as a dative with *renuentibus*: “sans que même les chefs de la nation présents fissent obstacle à leur cruauté”, is attractive.

*et quoniam haec sole agebantur extremo noxque adventans ad quietem invitos retinebat et maestos, capto per otium cibo somni manserunt expertes* All this took place at the end of the day; for *sole...extremo* cf. 17.2.3 *sole in vesperam flexo* and 23.5.12 *sole vergente iam in occasum*. Against their own wishes (*invitos* is to be preferred to V’s *invisos*) nightfall forced the barbarians to rest. They still (or again, see the preceding note) had enough food which they could eat at leisure, as they had done some time before, when they had arranged their wagon city: *vulgus inaestimabile barbarorum...otio fruebatur et ubertate praedarum* (31.7.5).

- 7.9 *contra Romani his cognitis ipsi quoque exsomnia verebantur hostes et male sanos eorum ductores ut rabidas feras, eventum licet ancipitem ut numero satis inferiores, prosperum tamen ob iustiore sui causam mentibus exspectantes impavidis* On their part the Romans could not sleep either. This is one of Amm.’s two instances of *exsomnia* (TLL V 2.1880.56–68); the other is 18.2.10, where we find the adj. not used to describe human beings, but *noctes: noctes agebant exsomnia*. The Romans feared their enemies and their mad leaders like rabid beasts; cf. 31.9.1 (p. 154), where the Goths are also compared to *ferae*. Cf. for *male sanos* 31.7.2 *vesanum adhuc spirantibus barbaris*.

They were aware of their numerical inferiority, but nevertheless expected a successful (*prosperum*) outcome, because of the righteousness of their cause; cf. for the optimistic view that lady Justice was on the side of the Romans 31.15.7 with the note (p. 267).

*Candente itaque protinus die signo ad arma capienda ex utraque parte per lituos dato, barbari, postquam inter eos ex more iuratum est, tumultuosos locos appetere temptaverunt, quo exinde per proclive rotarum modo obvios impetu convolverent acriore* For the words denoting the beginning of the day cf. 24.1.1 *candente iam luce*, and see for such expressions Hagendahl, 1921, 102–103. The adverb *protinus* denotes that an action followed straight after a preceding event. In the present text it means that daybreak was immediately followed by the preparation for battle. Note the hyperbaton c. c. of *protinus* before *die*. The phrase *signo per lituos dato* occurs, apart from the present text, in 19.2.12, 23.5.15 and 27.2.3 (p. 18). For *lituus*, a word which is used here with respect to both the Romans and the Goths, see the note ad 23.5.15 (pp. 110–111), and on musical instruments in the army in general ad 31.6.2.

In 27.5.9 (p. 121) Amm. reports that Athanaric declared that he had promised his father *sub timenda exsecratione (iuris?) iurandi* never to set foot on Roman soil. In other authors we hear also of oaths sworn by Goths: Eun. fr. 59, Priscus fr. 49, Malchus fr. 18.2, *Passio S. Sabae* 3. In all these cases, however, the context differs from that in the present text.

Crump, 1975, 80 notes, that Amm.'s "treatment of terrain exemplifies his concern for selectivity", and that he here "writes nothing about the lay of the land except a passing allusion to some heights on the field, from which the Gothic cavalry attempted to launch a charge". Yet this passing allusion is quite important, for the following reason. As is observed ad § 5 above, the expression *tumulosos locos* is a strong indication that *oppidum Salices* has to be sought in the Haemus region rather than in the north of the Dobruja; the adj., which occurs twice in the *Res Gestae* (cf. *tumulosis collibus* in 21.10.3, p. 133), is probably borrowed from Sal. *Jug.* 91.3. The Goths strove to occupy the higher ground so that they could, like wheels (*rotarum modo* seems to be unique in Latin literature), overrun their opponents with enormous downward speed.

*hocque viso ad suos quisque manipulos properans stabili gradu miles consistens nec vagabatur nec relictis ordinibus procursabat* The Roman forces, however, stood their ground. Whether the manipule still existed as a formal detachment of the Roman army is uncertain; see ad 21.13.9 (p. 201) and 24.6.8 (p. 185). For *stabili gradu* cf. Liv. 6.12.8 *ne procurrere quidem ab acie velim*,

*sed obnixos vos stabili gradu impetum hostium excipere* and Tac. *Hist.* 2.35.1. There is a note on the four meanings of *ordo* in Amm. ad 20.5.7 (p. 125); the word here, used in a military context, means ‘ranks’, as in 31.13.3 *confertis ordinibus* and 31.15.10 *multiplicatis ordinibus*.

- 7.11 In this section Amm. describes the scene shortly before the battle of Salices started with specific attention to the senses of hearing and seeing: the loud voices of the warriors and the grimness of their sidelong glances. One is reminded of Auerbach’s dictum “bei Ammian überwuchert das Sinnlich-Anschauliche und hat sich in den hohen Stil hinein Bahn gebrochen” (1946, p. 60). On Auerbach’s appreciation of Amm.’s style see Stenger, 2014.

*ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes gressu steterunt immobili, torvitate mutua bellatores luminibus se contuebantur obliquis* In *cautius incedentes* the participle is a present participle in a past sense (‘having cautiously advanced’); cf. ad 22.8.14 (p. 106). “Apart from the few occasions when their caution matches that of the Roman troops [as in the present text, as well as in 16.12.20, 20.11.13], foreign armies are usually noted for their lack of it” (Seager 76). The poeticism *gressus* is found eight times in the *Res Gestae*, thrice in combination with an adj.: *leniore gressu* in 27.10.8 (p. 237), *gressu...veloci* in 28.2.13 and *gressu...immobili* in the present text. For *gressus* “de stantibus”, as here, TLL VI 2.2326.36–38 refers to 31.13.6 and Stat. *Theb.* 6.773. See for *torvitas* above, ad 31.2.21 (p. 35). The soldiers on both sides looked at each other *luminibus...obliquis*, ‘with sidelong glances’, for which see ad 28.1.45 (p. 92).

*et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes a minore solita ad maiorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant barritum, vires validas erigebant, barbari vero maiorum laudes clamoribus stridebant inconditis* The Romans on all sides (*undique*) sang their ‘warsong’, *voce...Martia*, called *barritus*. For the construction of *concinere* with abl. cf. HA S 3.4 (Severus in a dream) *ex altissimi montis vertice orbem terrarum Romamque despexit, concinentibus provinciis lyra, voce vel tibia*. With *a minore solita ad maiorem protolli*, “as usual rising from a low to a louder tone” (tr. Rolfe), compare 16.12.43 (*barritum*) *qui clamor...a tenui susurro exoriens paulatimque adolescens ritu extollitur fluctuum cautibus illisorum*. Amm. twice explicitly states that the term *barritus* is originally a foreign word, in 26.7.17 (pp. 210–211) *terrifico fremitu, quem barbari dicunt barritum*, and in the present text. For *gentilitate* “pro ‘sermone barbaro’”, cf. TLL VI 2.1873.46 sqq. As is usual in such cases the relative pronoun (*quam*) agrees with the antecedent (*voce*) rather than with the object complement (*barritum*). See Pinkster I 1281, who quotes *inter alia*

Var. R. 1.46.1 *in floribus, quos vocant heliotropia*. See for *barritus*, also mentioned in 21.13.15 (p. 211), in the first place Rance, 2015, 69–71.

In *erigebant* “*praevallet notio expergefaciendi, excitandi, attendendi*” (TLL V 2.779.82); cf. 21.1.3 (pp. 5–6) *erigebat tamen aliquotiens animum ad multa et urgentia*. Translators offer various interpretations for *vires validas erigebant*. While some take *validas* attributively: “mit ihm weckten sie mächtige Kräfte” (Seyfarth), “stimulaient leurs forces (déjà) puissantes” (Sabbah), it is perhaps better to assume a predicative proleptic use of the adj.: “dando così vigore alle forze” (Viansino). Note that the Goths, unlike the Romans, shrieked piercingly in a chaotic way (*clamoribus stridebant inconditis*); cf. for the combination of *inconditus* and *clamor* Curt. 3.10.1 *Persae inconditum et trucem sustulere clamorem*.

*interque varios sermonis dissoni strepitus leviora proelia temptabantur* Amm. tries to sketch the noise of the preliminary skirmishes by ‘wrapping’ this noise (*varios strepitus*) within *sermonis dissoni* (‘of a different language’); see for the adj. *dissonus* ad 23.6.75 (p. 216), and cf. 31.5.13 (p. 99) *vesania gentium dissonarum*.

*iamque verrutis et similibus aliis utrimque semet eminus lacessentes ad conferendas coiere minaciter manus et scutis in testitudinem formam coagmentatis pes cum pede collatus est* Soldiers on both sides provoked their enemies from afar by throwing javelins (see for *verrutum* ad 19.11.11, p. 228, and cf. 31.10.8 *sagittarum verrutorumque missilium pulsibus*) and similar missiles, and then approached each other menacingly for man to man fighting. Whereas Seyfarth in his bilingual edition had printed Gardthausen’s conjecture *missilibus* instead of V’s *similibus*, in the Teubneriana he wisely returned to V’s reading. Cf. Meurig-Davies, 1950, 93, who defends V in this respect, pointing to 22.4.10 *cum cocis similibusque aliis* and 26.10.17 *ut pisces manibus colligerent et similia*. For *manus conserere* as a variant of *manus conferre* see e.g. 18.8.5 and 29.5.14. For *coiere* instead of V’s *coire* see ad 27.10.13 (p. 247). Having formed a ‘tortoise shell’ with their shields (see for *testudo* ad 20.7.2, p. 158, and 26.8.9, pp. 227–228), they put toe against toe; cf. *in conflictu artius pes pede collatus* (25.1.18). The oldest instance of such a polyptoton is Enn. Ann. 584 Skutsch *premitur pede pes atque armis arma teruntur*. Cf. also 27.2.6 *pede collato*.

*barbarique ut reparabiles semper et celeres ingentes clavas in nostros conicientes ambustas mucronesque acrius resistentium pectoribus illidentes sinistrum cornu perrumpunt* As always, the barbarians were able to repair

their losses; ad 27.10.5 (p. 232) it is noted that in the *Res Gestae* the adj. *reparabilis* is used with active force, ‘able to recover’. They acted with speed and threw to the Romans “huge clubs hardened in the fire” (tr. Hamilton); *clava*, “i.q. baculus nodosus, fustis” (TLL III 1296.42), is a hapax in Amm.; Lindenbrog compares for the primitiveness of this kind of weapon Verg. *A.* 7.523–525 *non iam certamine agresti / stipitibus duris agitur sudibusve praeustis, / sed ferro ancipiti decernunt* (“It was no longer an affair of hard cudgels or stakes, charred to a point, in peasant conflict. Now they sought decisions by their two-edged blades”, tr. Jackson Knight). The Goths then drove their swords into the breasts of the energetically resisting Romans, and in this way broke through the left wing of the Roman battle line. De Jonge ad 16.12.46 (p. 262) has a short note on *mucro*; the word occurs four times in Book 31, e.g. in § 14 below.

*quod inclinatum subsidialis robustissimus globus e propinquo latere fortiter excitus haerente iam morte cervicibus sustentavit* When the soldiers of the Roman left wing were being laid low, a very strong group (see for *globus* above, ad 31.5.9, p. 93), which was nearby held in reserve (cf. *subsidialibus globis* in 29.5.47, p. 208), was stirred into action (*excitus*) and bravely came to their rescue when death already gripped them by the neck; cf. for *excitus* 16.12.19 *tres equites exciti subito* (pp. 206–207) and 31.11.1 *Valens tandem excitus Antiochia* (pp. 181–182); TLL V 2.1247.42–59. Cf. for *haerente* 31.15.1 *occipitiis propriis ferrum arbitantes haerere* (p. 260).

- 7.13 *fervente igitur densis caedibus proelio in confertos quisque promptior ruens ritu grandinis undique volitantibus telis oppetebat et gladiis et sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientium occipitia lacertis ingentibus praecedentes et terga itidemque altrinsecus pedites lapsorum timore impeditorum secundo suffragines* Amm.’s sketch of the crowded battlefield relies heavily on the following words: *densis*, *confertos*, *ritu grandinis*, *undique* and *hinc inde*. Other words, e.g. *caedibus*, introduce the horrible omnipresence of death, which dominates the next sections. Cf. for *fervente igitur densis caedibus proelio* 24.4.20: *anceps pugna diutius fervens* and § 5 above: *ne ferventibus proeliis interesset*. See for *quisque* with a comparative Kühner-Stegmann 2.486 and Szantyr 170. In the present text *quisque promptior* means “all the more active” (tr. Hamilton). As is noted ad 29.5.25 (p. 187), *ritu grandinis* is a cliché.

We are now confronted with the gruesome picture of the battle, during which the human body is abused in many shocking ways. See for *oppetere*, ‘to die’, ad 20.4.8 (p. 72). On both sides (*hinc inde*) horsemen pursued those

who were fleeing and cut off their necks and backs with their huge arms; for cavalry in the *Res Gestae* see Chauvot, 2012, for *occipitia* ad 24.6.12 (p. 191). On both sides (*altrinsecus*) infantrymen followed suit by cutting off the knee joints (*suffragines*) of those who had fallen and were paralyzed by fear; cf. for *suffragines* ad 26.8.9 (p. 228).

*et cum omnia caesorum corporibus opplerentur, iacebant inter eos quidam semanimes spem vitae inaniter usurpando* For *caesorum corporibus* cf. *caesorum cadavera* in 18.8.12 and *caesorum corpora* in e.g. Liv. 22.48.4, 22.59.3, 23.15.8, 37.44.3. For *opplerentur* cf. 18.6.22 *cernebamur terrarum omnes ambitus subiectos, quos horizontas appellamus, agminibus oppletos innumeris*, where De Jonge (p. 216) notes about *opplere*: “to fill completely, to fill up”. The adj. *semanimis* occurs in the *Res Gestae* only here; in a similar scene in 16.12.53 Amm. writes *semineces...lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant*. In *spem vitae inaniter usurpando* (“cherished a vain hope of life”, tr. Rolfe), the abl. of the gerund is the equivalent of the part. praes. Amm.’s only other instance of *usurpare* is *quorum pars spem vitae cassis precibus usurpando* (19.11.15). De Jonge (p. 234) regards the verb as a juridical t.t., used in a figurative sense. 7.14

*alii glande fundis excussa vel harundinibus armatis ferro confixi, quorundam capita per medium frontis et verticis mucrone distincta in utrumque umerum magno cum horrore pendebant* Some of the victims had been pierced by ‘missiles discharged from a sling’ (cf. OLD s.v. *glans* 2), others by arrows with iron points; see for *funda* ad 31.6.3 (p. 112), for *glans* ad 24.2.15 (p. 59) and ad 20.6.6 (p. 145), where inter alia the use of the collective singular of the word is explained. See for *harundo* “i.q. sagitta” TLL VI 3.2543.79 sqq. and cf. for *harundinibus armatis ferro* Claud. *carm. min.* 9.37 *ferroque armatur harundo*; see further 16.12.46 *ferrataeque arundines* and 24.2.13 *harundines ferratas*.

In some cases the head had been split in two by the sword (see for *mucro* above, ad § 12) and each half hung over one of the victim’s shoulders. As e.g. Sabbah 562 n. 68 and Kelly 22 with n. 31 observe, this was inspired by Verg. *A.* 9.753–755 *conlapsos artus atque arma cruenta cerebro / sternit humi moriens, atque illi partibus aequis / huc caput atque illuc umero ex utroque pependit*. Hardie ad loc. notes that the ugly scene in the *Aeneid* was itself inspired by A.R. 2.103–104. In the *Res Gestae* one can point to parallels in 16.12.53, about Alamans: *quorundam capita discissa trabalibus telis et pendentia iugulis cohaerebant* (“some had their heads severed by pikes heavy as beams, so that they hung down, connected only by their throats”, tr. Rolfe), and in 18.8.12, about a corpse Amm. claims to have seen



with his own eyes: *utque miles ante me quidam discriminato capite, quod in aequas partes ictus gladii fiderat validissimus, in stipitis modum undique coartatus haereret* ("and that in front of me a soldier with his head cut in two, and split into equal halves by a powerful sword stroke, was so pressed on all sides that he stood erect like a stump", tr. Rolfe).

- 7.15 *et pertinaci concertatione nondum lassatae aequo Marte partes semet altrinsecus afflictabant nec de rigore genuino quidquam remittebant, dum vires animorum alacritas excitaret* "In military contexts *pertinax* is sometimes clearly favorable" (cf. 14.2.17, 16.12.36, 24.6.12), but here (and in 15.8.19, 15.10.10, 17.2.2, 29.5.30 and 31.16.5) its use is neutral; Seager 31 with n. 61. See ad 21.11.3 (p. 151) for *concertatio* meaning 'armed battle'. As is noted ad 25.1.18 (p. 36), the verb *lassare* is a "vox maxime poetica" (TLL VII 2.989.39); all six occurrences in Amm. are forms of the part. perf., inter alia 17.2.3 (p. 49: "lassati= (de)fatigati") and 28.1.17. Remarkably, there are only two instances of the phrase *aequo Marte* in the *Res Gestae*: the other one can be found in 16.12.5; the phrase means that there is no winner (yet). This is Amm.'s only instance of *semet altrinsecus* functioning as a reciprocal pronoun. He has a predilection for *genuinus*, 'innate' (cf. ad 31.5.4 above, p. 85), which suits the present text well: neither the Goths nor the Romans showed any inclination to give up. For *nec de rigore genuino quidquam remittebant* cf. 16.12.18 (p. 202) *nec de rigore animorum quidquam remittentibus*. None of the three English equivalents of *alacritas* offered in the OLD ("enthusiasm, zeal, liveliness") fully covers Amm.'s use of the word in a military context (also in 31.15.14), where it denotes 'fighting spirit'; see ad 24.1.1 (p. 2) and Bitter 137 n. 417.

*diremit tamen interneciva certamina cedens vespero dies et cunctis, qua quisque potuit, incomposite discedentibus residui omnes repetunt tentoria tristiores* Finally, the day gave way for the evening. *Cedens vespero die* is another allusion to the *Aeneid*: *dies caelo concesserat*, Verg. *A.* 10.215; Kelly 22 with n. 31. In 17.13.8 Amm. writes: *iamque vergente in vesperum die*, in 31.15.15 (p. 275) *flexo in vesperam die*. And so the murderous fighting ended; as is noted ad 20.4.10 (p. 76), Amm. uses the adj. *internecivus* ("i.q. mortifer, perniciosus, exitialis sim.", TLL VII 1.2232.55) quite often. The soldiers of both parties (*cunctis*) left the battlefield in a disorderly way; cf. for *incomposite* ad 31.8.6 (p. 147). As to *residui omnes*, in 31.15.5 *digressi omnes rediere ad tentoria tristes* the context makes clear that *omnes* refers to the Goths, but in the present text Romans as well as Goths must be meant; for Amm.'s use of *residuus* see ad 20.4.6 (p. 65) and 25.5.2 (p. 172), where the adj. denotes

‘those who still remained’, ‘the survivors’. For Roman army tents see Van Driel-Murray, 1990, for tents of the Goths Nefedkin, 2002, 11.

*humatis denique pro locorum et temporis ratione honoratis quibusdam inter defunctos reliqua peremptorum corpora dirae volucres consumpserunt assuetae illo tempore cadaveribus pasci, ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi* 7.16 The first part of the sentence echoes the opening section of Book 17, which deals with the burying of the dead after the battle of Strasbourg: *ne dirae volucres consumerent corpora peremptorum, sine discretione cunctos humari mandavit* (17.1.1). But note the difference! Julian in 357 ordered that all the slain should be buried without distinction, whereas in 377 only some *honorati* were entitled to a funeral; see for *honoratus* as a title of men in high circles ad 29.1.9 (p. 20), and for “l’écho verbal” Sabbah 13 n. 12. Amm.’s mentioning of the *dirae volucres* may have been inspired by Verg. *A.* 3.262 *sive deae seu sint dirae obscenaeque volucres* and 8.235 *dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum*; see Kelly pp. 22–24. Kelly *inter alia* states on p. 22: “On the basis of these two usages it appears that *dirus*, as well as its normative meaning of ‘ominous’, may have a particular meaning when attached to birds, that of ‘flesh-eating’”, and he refers to Servius’ commentary on Verg. *A.* 8.235: *dirarum non mali ominis dicit, ut sunt bubones, sed quae humanis cadaveribus vescebantur* and to Sil. 13.597–600.

The words *ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi* have been seen by some scholars as proof that Amm. himself visited the scene of the battle at Salices; so e.g. Thompson, 1947, 14; Rowell, 1967, 287 and Seyfarth, 1986<sup>3</sup>, 363 n. 81. This cannot be ruled out, as e.g. Matthews 16–17 and Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 460 state. Whatever the case, the passage does contain literary allusions, Verg. *A.* 12.35–36 *recalet nostro Thybrina fluenta / sanguine adhuc campique ingentes ossibus albent* and Tac. *Ann.* 1.61.2 *medio campi albertia ossa*. This is noted (with different nuances) by e.g. Richter, 1974, 366–367, Sabbah 282, Rosen, 1982, 22 and 92, Matthews 16, Barnes 193 n. 38; see above all Kelly 13–30, to be supplemented with Ross, 2016, 40–45. Cf. also HA *Cl.* 8.5 *campi ossibus latent tecti* with Rohrbacher, 2016, 139.

*constat tamen in numero longe minore Romanos cum copiosa multitudine colluctatos funerea multa perpressos non tamen sine deflendis aerumnis exagitate barbaram plebem* Amm. ends the chapter with a note on a subject which had cropped up more than once: the superior numbers of the enemy; cf. *multitudo...hostilis* and *plebi immensae* in § 2, *vulgus inaeestimabile barbarorum* in § 5, and *ut numero satis inferiores* in § 9. This fact caused many losses on the Roman side (for the adj. *funereus*, which here is substan-

tivized, see ad 26.10.12, p. 287), but nevertheless “they inflicted severe distress on the barbarian host” (tr. Hamilton); cf. for *deflendis aerumnis* 20.11.32 *damna...atrociora diuque deflenda* and 27.5.8 *funeribus...deflendis*, for *exag- itasse* ad 27.12.13 (p. 287).

## CHAPTER 8

### *Introduction*

This chapter describes a further deterioration of the Roman position in Thrace. Both the Goths and the Romans were licking their wounds after the inconclusive battle at Salices, but whereas the Goths stayed within the protection of their wagon camp for a whole week, the Romans used the suspension of hostilities to barricade the passes leading out of the Haemus mountains, in order to starve the large bands of Goths who were hemmed in there (§1). The general Richomeres, whom Gratian had sent to Thrace, returned to the West to procure reinforcements (§2). Valens appointed Saturninus as *magister equitum* and sent him with fresh troops to help the *magister peditum* Traianus and the *comes* Profuturus. Meanwhile the Goths made desperate efforts to break out of the Haemus mountains, but they were unable to force out the Roman troops, who kept them penned in there. As a last resort they turned to Hunnish and Alan troops whose support they obtained by promising an enormous amount of booty (§3–4).

Saturninus realized that he would be outnumbered by the combined forces of Goths, Huns and Alans and decided to raise the barricade across the Haemus passes (§5). Ammianus sympathizes with his assessment of the situation, but the result was disastrous. The barbarians flooded the whole of Thrace and indulged in murder, bloodshed, arson and rape, which Ammianus describes in detail and with disgust; he ends with an apostrophe full of pathos to Fortuna (§6–8). Roaming through Thrace the barbarians ran into the general Barzimeres, who was building a camp near the city of Dibaltum. Barzimeres defended himself courageously, but was finally overcome by a cavalry charge and killed (§9–10).

*His casibus proeliorum ita luctuose finitis nostri proximos Marcianopoleos petivere secessus. Gothi intra vehiculorum amfractus sponte sua contrusi numquam exinde per dies septem egredi vel videri sunt ausi* For *casibus proeliorum* ‘the vicissitudes of battle’ cf. 15.9.1 *inter procinctus arduos proeliorumque varios casus* and 26.1.3 *Hac volubili casuum diritate exitu luctuoso finita* (p. 16). Despite the fact that the battle near Salices, described in the previous chapter, had remained undecided (31.7.15 *aequo Marte*), the losses had been heavy, and the Romans decided to seek safety (for *secessus* ‘refuge’

8.1

see ad 23.6.61, p. 199) in nearby Marcianopolis in Moesia Inferior. See for this city ad 31.5.4 (p. 86). For Amm.'s *oppidum* Salices see ad 31.7.5 (p. 127). The Goths sought protection within the fence (*amfractus*) of their wagon train; cf. 31.7.5 *ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum* (pp. 127–128). The author adds *sponte sua* to avoid the connotation of outside force ('cramming') inherent in the verb *contrudere*.

*ideoque opportunitatem milites nancti immensas alias barbarorum catervas inter Haemimontanas angustias clausurunt aggerum obiectu celsorum hac spe nimirum, ut inter Histrum et solitudines perniciose hostium multitudo compacta nullosque repperiens exitus periret inedia* Amm. keeps hammering on the numerical superiority of the barbarians by using expressions like *immensas...catervas* and *perniciose...multitudo*. The words *alias barbarorum catervas* apparently refer to Goths who had fled to the Haemus mountains (Turkish 'Balkan', Bulgarian 'Stara Planina', Talbert 22 B–D6), for which see ad 21.10.3 (p. 133) and cf. 31.7.3 *trusos hostes ultra Haemi montis abscisos scopulos faucibus impegere praeruptis* (p. 123). Cf. Wanke, 1990, 161–164 who, following an older, unlikely theory of Várady, 1969, 22, suggests that the *alii barbari* are a "Dreivölkergruppe" consisting of Greuthungi and groups of Alans and Huns. The Roman army used the week during which the Goths stayed within their wagon camp to block the narrow passes leading to the south of this mountain range with high ramparts. The first *inter* should be changed to *intra*; cf. 17.13.6 *Limigantes intra suorum acies clausit*, 26.10.1 *Serenianum intra palatium clausum*. Amm. is the only author who uses the adjective *Haemimontanus*; see ad 27.4.6 (p. 86). For *obiectus*, 'barrier', "in defensione vel oppugnatione hostium" (TLL IX 2.64.18–35), see ad 20.6.3 (p. 140). Dintchev, 2012, 499 sees in the *aggeres* precursors of the East Balkan Barrier Wall, "the most imposing fortification work on the Bulgarian state territory up till modern times" (p. 495). This wall, which starts near the present day coastal town of Obzor and runs west along the course of the Dvoinitsa river, is almost exclusively known from archaeological records. Only its most important component, the 'Gates of Haemus', is mentioned in a literary source, Malchus *fr.* 18.2, p. 429 Blockley (πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ Αἴμου). The Gates of Haemus are identified with a fortification complex on the mountain pass between the territories of the villages Golitsa and Bulair (formerly Belibe) (p. 497), constructed, presumably, in the early fifth century (p. 515).

Amm. either refers to the Danube by its Greek name *Hister* or its Roman designation *Danubius*; see ad 31.2.13 and 31.4.2 (p. 57). It is unclear to which region exactly *solitudines* refers, but there is no reason to doubt the cor-

rectness of the text. Amm. uses *perniciosus* no fewer than thirty times, not always with its full meaning ‘deadly, fatal’, but also in the weaker sense ‘threatening, dangerous’, as in 27.5.8 *adulationum perniciosis illecebris captus*. In the present passage, however, it seems to have its full meaning. The Roman strategy to isolate the Goths in the Haemus mountains and the region between that mountain range and the river Danube, in particular the Thracian provinces of Scythia and Moesia Inferior, has already been outlined in 31.7.3: *ut barbaros in locis incultis nusquam repperientes exitum diuturna consumeret fames*.

*cunctis utilibus ad vivendum in civitates validas comportatis, quarum nullam etiam tum circumsedere conati sunt haec et similia machinari penitus ignorantes* A *civitas valida* is obviously a walled town; cf. 28.6.4 *Leptim... civitatem muris et populo validam*. Amm. uses the verb *machinari* only here, probably because he is thinking of siege engines (*machinae*). The Goths were not skilled in siegecraft, as Amm. had mentioned earlier in 31.6.3–4 (pp. 111–114): bands of Goths under Sueridus and Colias beleaguered Adrianople for some time but, persuaded by Fritigern, who saw that their efforts were in vain (*frustra... colluctari homines ignaros obsidendi contemplans*), they ended the siege.

Heather, 1991, 132 argues that storing provisions in towns (at this time of year, i.e. the end of the summer [*anno in autumnum vergente*, § 2], one should in particular think of the recently harvested grain) was a major administrative effort which must have been part of Valens’ larger plan to gain control again in Thrace. However, Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 462 observes: “Cette interprétation ne s’appuie... sur aucune référence précise”. However, Wanke, 1990, 167 may very well be right in arguing that preparations for the storing of food must have started before the battle at Salices.

*post quae repetivit Gallias Richomeres ob maiorem proeliorum fremitum, qui spectabatur, inde adminicula perducturus* Richomer (*PLRE I*, Richomeres), was *comes domesticorum* of Gratian in 377–378 (31.7.4, p. 125). Whether he returned on his own initiative or by order of Gratian is not clear. Apparently he intended to come back to Thrace, where more and bigger fights with the Goths were expected (*ob... fremitum* is subordinated to *perducturus*). He did indeed return, with a letter of Gratian for Valens; *Richomeren comitem domesticorum suscepit ab eodem imperatore praemissum cum litteris ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus* (31.12.4, p. 202).

The only parallel for *proeliorum fremitus* mentioned in TLL VI 1.1281.39 is Hier. in *Ier.* 1.82.2. It is difficult to understand why Seyfarth in his Teubner

edition and Sabbah have rejected Accursius' *sperabatur* in favour of V's *spectabatur*, since Amm. never uses *spectare* in the sense of *expectare*, whereas *sperare* in this meaning is very common; see De Jonge ad 14.7.5 (p. 20). For *adminiculum* 'military reinforcement' see ad 24.7.8 (p. 221).

*haec Gratiano quater et Merobaude consulibus agebantur anno in autumnum vergente* This is one of the few chronological indications in this book. Gratian and Merobaudes were consuls together in the year 377; Bagnall et al., 1987, 288–289. It is possible that this was not Gratian's fourth consulate but his fifth; as a *nobilissimus puer* he had been consul in 366 and as an Augustus in 371, 374 and possibly again in 375. The latter was a post-consulate year since no new consuls were appointed, and Gratian and Equitius, who were consuls in 374, may have stayed in post. It could also be that 375 was a year without consuls; Birley, 2007, 16 ff.

For the *magister peditum* Merobaudes (*PLRE* I, Merobaudes 2) see ad 28.6.29 (p. 300), 30.5.13 (p. 126) and 31.7.4 (p. 126). This was his first consulate; the second was in 383, first with Theodosius I, then with Saturninus; Bagnall et al., 1987, 300–301. He may have been consul again for a few days in 388 before he committed suicide.

- 8.3 *Inter quae Valens audito lugubri bellorum direptionumque eventu Saturninum equestris exercitus ad tempus cura commissa suppetias Traianoferentem misit et Profuturo* Since Traianus and Profuturus had obviously not been successful in their dealings with the Goths (see Amm.'s criticisms in 31.7.1–2), Valens sent Saturninus (*PLRE* I, Saturninus 10) with reinforcements. Valens had made him *magister equitum* on a temporary basis (for *ad tempus* 'for the time being', 'ad interim' see ad 29.5.18, p. 177), probably because the sitting *magister equitum* Victor (*PLRE* I, Victor 4) had been sent to the Persian court as an envoy to negotiate a truce with Sapor (31.7.1, pp. 120–121); Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 465. He is probably the same man as the former *cura palatii* Saturninus mentioned in 22.3.7 (pp. 28–29). Saturninus was one of the few who survived the battle of Adrianople (31.13.9). He concluded a peace treaty with the Goths in 382 (*Them. Or.* 16.208b–209d, 210 d). For his consulate in 383 see the preceding section. Soon afterwards he left the imperial service, but he seems to have remained influential; Zos. 5.9.3–5, 18.7–9. He was an orthodox Christian and corresponded with Gregory of Nazianzus whose *Ep.* 132 and 181 were addressed to him.

For Traianus (*PLRE* I, Traianus 2), mentioned together with Profuturus also in 31.7.1 and 31.7.5, see ad 29.1.2 (pp. 4–5) and 30.1.18 (p. 21). He was *magister peditum* at the time; cf. 31.11.1 *pedestris exercitus...quem regebat antea*

*Traianus*. Valens was evidently fully aware of the gravity of the situation in Thrace, since he first sent *magister peditum* Traianus and then *magister equitum* Saturninus there. For Profuturus (*PLRE* I, Profuturus 2) see 31.7.1 (p. 121). Lenski, 2002, 363 suggests that he had been killed in the battle at Salices, but the fact that he is mentioned here by Amm. makes that unlikely.

Gratian had also sent troops under Frigeridus to support the two hapless generals: 31.7.3 *laturum suppetias his, qui ad ultimum vexabantur exitium* (p. 124).

*forteque isdem diebus per Scythiae regiones et Moesiae omnibus, quae poterant mandi, consumptis feritate urgente pariter et inopia erumpere barbari molibus magnis ardebant* Scythia and Moesia Inferior/Secunda are two of the six provinces of the diocese Thracia; 27.4.12 (p. 94); Talbert 22. They are located between the Haemus mountains and the Danube. The adverb *forte* together with the predicate *erumpere ardebant* has the value of Greek τυγχάνω with ptc.: ‘as it happened...’. For *mandere* see ad 25.7.4 *absumptis omnibus, quae mandi poterant* (p. 226). The fatal effects of hunger and fury are vividly portrayed in 14.7.6, where it is reported how the populace of Antioch lynched the governor of Syria *famis et furoris impulsu*. For *molibus magnis* cf. *magnis molibus communibat* (28.2.1), Tac. *Hist.* 3.77.4 *haud parva mole certatum...foret* and see ad 20.6.5 (p. 142). 8.4

*hocque saepe temptato cum obruerentur vigore nostrorum per asperitates scruposas valide resistentium, adacti necessitate postrema Hunorum et Hala-norum aliquos ad societatem spe praedarum ingentium asciverunt* The verb *obruere* suggests that the Roman soldiers, who stood on the sharp edges of the rocks, overwhelmed the Goths with their weapons. For *adacti necessitate* cf. §10 below *ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitii*. As they were unable to break through the Roman blockade the Goths were compelled to look for allies. It was Fritigern (see for him ad 31.4.8, p. 72), who managed to conclude a treaty with Hunnish and Alan groups, 31.16.3 (Huns and Alans) *quos miris praemiorum illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia Fritigerni*. It has been suggested that this happened when the Gothic Greuthungi under Safrax and Alatheus crossed the Danube; Angliviel de la Beaumelle, n. 466. The idea is *inter alia* based on the supposition of an already existing alliance of Greuthungi, Huns and Alans, who allegedly formed some sort of political unit (cf. also ad §1 above). However, Heather, 1991, 144–145 rejects this idea on good grounds: the Greuthungi had entered Thrace earlier, when Fritigern and his Thervingi had moved on to Marcianopolis (31.5.3–4); they could therefore not be part of the Huns and Alans with whom Fritigern



concluded an alliance. Nor is there any evidence for a political alliance between Greuthungi, Huns and Alans. For the Alans see ad 22.8.31 (p. 125) and 31.2.12–20 (pp. 28–34); for the Huns ad 31.2.1–12 (pp. 13–28). This is the first reference to the Huns in Thrace.

- 8.5 *Quo cognito Saturninus—iam enim aderat et praetenturas stationesque disponebat agrarias—paulatim colligens suos digredi parabat* Saturninus, who had probably arrived in Thrace in late 377 (*anno in autumnum vergente* in 31.8.2, p. 144 and *Inter quae* in 31.8.3; Lenski, 2002, 330), busied himself with installing ‘border posts’ and ‘field pickets’. For *praetentura* see ad 21.13.3 (p. 194) and for *statio* ad 26.7.5 (p. 190); add to the literature cited there France and Nelis-Clément, 2014. The terms occur together also in 14.3.2 *praetenturis et stationibus servabantur agrariis* (p. 120) and 25.4.11 *praetenturae stationesque agrariae totis rationibus ordinatae*. The Roman strategy to barricade the Goths within the Haemus mountains and to starve them into submission had been successful, but when news of the Gothic alliance with the Huns and Alans reached Saturninus, he realized that the Roman troops were no match for these combined forces. Retreat was therefore the best strategic option. The adverb *paulatim* suggests that Saturninus acted with deliberation, not in a haphazard way like Lupicinus (*temere magis quam consulte*, 31.5.9, p. 92).

After *agrarias* one page of V is missing. The next one starts in 31.10.18 after *dictu est*. The text in between is mainly based on the ms. E, used by Accursius for his edition of 1533, on which see ad 30.9.1 (p. 187).

*consilio non absurdo, ne subita multitudo ut amnis immani impulsu undarum obicibus ruptis emissus convelleret levi negotio cunctos suspecta loca acutius observantes* The adj. *absurdus* is sometimes used in programmatic statements, e.g. (15.11.16) *silere super Rhodano...incongruum est et absurdum*, Tac. Ann. 6.28.1 *de quibus congruunt et plura ambigua, sed cognitu non absurda promere libet*. The negation *non absurdus* is a favourite with Augustine, who uses it no fewer than 135 times. With *non absurdo* Amm. pays a compliment to Saturninus for his decision to lift the blockade of the mountain passes. Novák, 1896, 22 aptly compared 15.4.2 *immani pulsu Rhenus* and 28.2.2 *undarum pulsu immani*. For *obicibus ruptis* cf. Verg. G. 2.479–480 *qua vi maria alta tumescant / obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant* (“the force to make deep seas swell and burst their barriers, then sink back upon themselves”, tr. Rushton Fairclough / Goold). The expression *levi negotio* is typical of Amm.; see ad 20.10.2 (p. 240). For *suspecta loca* see ad 20.7.1 (p. 154). Petschenig, 1892, 690 was probably right in proposing to read *cautius obser-*

*vantes*, cf. 15.5.26 *erat enim cautius observandum*, 27.2.1 *cautissime observans*. The participle goes with *cunctos*; the adverb is probably only added to obtain a *cursus velox*.

*deinde post reseratas angustias abiturumque militis tempestivum incomposite*, 8.6  
*qua quisque clausorum potuit nullo vetante, turbandis incubuit rebus* The use of *tempestivum* ‘timely’ again shows Amm.’s approval of Saturninus’ decision; see for the adj. ad 20.7.16 (p. 174) and cf. 27.5.7 *Aderant...finiendi belli materiae tempestivae*. It meant, however, that the Goths, sometimes with their allies, were given a free run to invade the whole of Thrace with devastating consequences; Eun. *fr.* 42 ἡ δὲ χώρα καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπανάλωται, καὶ ἔστιν ἀοίκητον καὶ ἄβατον διὰ τὸν πόλεμον; ‘the countryside was for the most part devastated and it remains uninhabited and untravelled as a result of the war’, tr. Blockley. The author stresses the fact that this introduces a new disastrous phase in the Gothic invasion by using the verb *reserare*, which recalls the crossing of the Danube in 31.4.9 *nostri limitis reseratis obicibus*. Amm. also repeats a phrase he had used in 31.7 *cunctis, qua quisque potuit, incomposite discedentibus* (§15). For *incompositus* ‘disorganized’ (OLD s.v. 2) cf. 15.4.8 *incomposito agmine* and Liv. 5.28.7 *incomposito agmine neglegentius ab re bene gesta euntem*. The *clausi* are the Goths, who had been penned in in the Haemus mountains. For *incumbere* in the sense of ‘operam dare, studere’ see TLL VII 1.1073.53 sqq. and cf. 17.12.4 *populandis barbarorum incubuit terris*.

*et vastabundi omnes per latitudines Thraciae pandebantur impune ab ipsis tractibus, quos praetermeat Hister, exorsi ad usque Rhodope et fretum, quod immensa disternat maria* The adj. *vastabundus* is a hapax in Latin literature. *Omnes per latitudines* is specified by the following clause: ‘from the banks of the Danube to Rhodope and the strait’. Amm. has provided a geographical description of Thrace in 27.4. With Rhodope he refers to the southern mountain range of that name in Thrace rather than to the province Rhodopa (27.4.12, p. 94); see on Mt. Rhodope ad 21.10.3 (p. 133); Talbert 51. The *fretum* is the Bosphorus; see ad 27.4.7 (pp. 87–88). For *pandi* ‘to spread out’ cf. 22.8.29 *Ultra Tanain panduntur in latitudinem Sauromatae*. The adverb *impune* repeats *nullo vetante*.

*rapinis et caedibus sanguineque et incendiis et liberorum corporum corruptelis omnia foedissime permiscentes* The description is a completely traditional variation on 31.6.7–8. The addition of *corporum*, apart from producing a remarkable alliteration, makes it clear that *corruptela* refers to rape, as

is confirmed by *foedissime*; TLL IV 1063.78sq. Cf. Hamilton's impressive translation: "everything was involved in a foul orgy of rapine and slaughter, bloodshed and fire and frightful atrocities were inflicted on the bodies of free men." For *permiscere* see ad 31.5.8 (p. 92). The events are also mentioned in Hier. *Chron.* a. 377 *superatis in congressione Romanis Gothi funduntur in Thracia*; Lib. *Or.* 1.179; Eun. *fr.* 44.1; Zos. 4.20.7.

Lenski points out that the Goths were able to cover so much territory because their numbers had increased considerably. Not only had they allied themselves with groups of Huns and Alans as mentioned in §4 above, but earlier in the year the Thervingi of Fritigern had been joined by the Greuthungi of Viderichus (led by Alatheus and Safrax), possibly already before the engagement at Marcianopolis (31.5.4). Goths led by Sueridus and Colias had attached themselves to Fritigern early in 377 (31.6.3). Perhaps the Taifali, who had become allies of the Gothic chieftain Farnobius and his bands (31.9.3), also joined forces with the Gothic peoples who occupied the Thracian plains. In addition discontented local miners and slaves (31.6.5–6, p. 114–117) as well as deserters (31.7.7, p. 129) from the Roman army joined the Goths: "What had begun as a controlled migration of a limited group of Thervingi had thus snowballed into an avalanche of rebels loosely united around the original Gothic core", Lenski, 2002, 331 (with note 67); Wolfram, 1988, 120.

Presumably the Roman soldiers retreated to the fortified cities which were well stocked with food, cf. §1 above. Thrace had many important cities, enumerated by Amm. in 27.4.12–13 (pp. 95–98).

- 8.7 *tunc erat spectare cum gemitu facta dictu visuque praedira, attonitas metu feminas flagris concrepantibus agitari fetibus gravidas adhuc immaturis, antequam prodirent in lucem, impia tolerantibus multa, implicatos alios matribus parvulos et puberum audire lamenta puellarumque nobilium, quarum stringebat fera captivitas manus* Amm. has a predilection for referring to barbarian atrocities visited upon Roman provincials; see e.g. the cruelties perpetrated by Moorish tribes in Africa (27.9.1), the Isaurians in Pamphylia and Cilicia (27.9.6), and the Quadi in Illyricum (29.6.6). Expressions like *erat spectare* are discussed in Szantyr 349. For the supine in *-u* cf. 21.13.11 *multa visu relatuque nefaria* (p. 205). *Praedirus* is a hapax. *Concrepare* is one of those words which vanish at the end of the classical period, but reappear from the second century A.D. onward; TLL IV 93.70–73.

The present section is a good example of ἐνάργεια, as explained and illustrated in Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.67–70. With a quick succession of vignettes, Amm. makes the reader as it were an eyewitness of the events, just as he had

done when he described the expulsion of the citizens of Nisibis in 25.9.5–7 (pp. 292–294), which also culminates in a highly emotional apostrophe to Fortuna. For this ‘*urbs capta topos*’ see Paul, 1982 and Keitel, 2010. As in 30.1.22 (p. 26), the ἐνάργεια leads to the literary effect of ἐκπληξίς ‘shock’ by the accumulation of gruesome details. The alliteration *feminas flagris concrepantibus agitari fetibus* should have been mentioned in Petschenig, 1897. Even the unborn children are not protected from the cruelty of the barbarians. The next category (*alios...parvulos*) are the very young, clinging to their mothers. For this ‘Grecizing’ use of *alius*, which is not wholly unknown in Latin, see ad 27.7.5 (pp. 167–168). They are followed by the young adults, both boys and girls, who are led away into degrading captivity.

*post quae adulta virginitas castitasque nuptarum ore abiecto flens ultima  
ducebatur mox profanandum pudorem optans morte licet cruciabili praevenire* 8.8  
After the boys and girls Amm. presents the grown-up women, both married and unmarried. The use of the gen. *inversus castitas nuptarum* is an instance of Amm.’s grand style, for which see ad 22.4.5 (p. 43). *Castitas* adds pathos to the description and anticipates the violation which awaits the women. There is no parallel for *ore abiecto* (Henri de Valois; *adsecto* E), but *abiectus* in the sense of ‘downcast’, ‘disconsolate’ is not uncommon; TLL I 91.27–43. The gerundive *profanandum* is the equivalent of a passive ptc. fut.: ‘which was going to be defiled’; see ad 20.2.4 (p. 18) and 20.11.24 (p. 279) and cf. *aut lacerandum...aut serviturum* in this same section. The verb is used only here in the *Res Gestae* and in 29.2.14 (p. 94). Cf. 14.11.24 *ambo cruciabili morte absumpti sunt* and for *licet* + adj. see ad 28.4.21 (p. 204).

*inter quae cum beluae ritu traheretur ingenuus paulo ante dives et liber, de te Fortuna ut inclementi querebatur et caeca* Cf. 14.2.7 *pecudum ritu inertium trucidantur*, 14.5.3 *iniecto onere catenarum in modum beluae traheretur*. Amm. varies 25.9.7 *Tu hoc loco, Fortuna orbis Romani, merito incusaris*, where he apostrophizes Fortuna directly. Cf. also 20.4.13 *fortuna quaedam inclemens* (pp. 83–84). There is a note on *Fortuna* as the personification of the historical course of the Roman Empire ad 25.9.7, p. 294 (add to the literature quoted there Brodka, 2009, 32–53, 110–115). For Fortuna’s proverbial blindness see ad 25.5.8 (p. 192) and for the wheel of Fortune ad 31.1.1.

*quae eum puncto temporis brevi opibus exutum et dulcedine caritatum domoque extorrem, quam concidisse vidit in cinerem et ruinas* Amm. uses *punctum* in a temporal and a spatial sense: 15.1.4 (terra) *ad magnitudinem universitatis instar brevis obtinet puncti*. For *caritates* ‘loved ones’ see ad 31.4.2

(p. 57). It is typical of the chaos described in Book 31 that *extorres* is used three times of Goths, forced to flee their homeland, and twice of Roman subjects driven from their homes by these same Goths. For *extorris* cf. Liv. 7.4.4 *extorrem urbe domo penatibus*, and for *cinerem et ruinas* Hier. *epist.* 128.5 *in cineres ac favillas sacrae quondam ecclesiae conciderunt*.

*aut lacerandum membratim aut servitutum sub verberibus et tormentis crudo devovisti victori* Cf. Apul. *Met.* 7.26 *corpus eius membratim laceratum* and 15.3.2 *verberibus vel tormentis afflicto*. Amm. uses the verb *devovere* in the general sense of “proicere”, “destinare” (TLL V 1.882.41), as in 24.4.11 *tamquam superatura vel devota cineribus* (p. 115). The adj. *crudus* denotes uncivilized cruelty.

- 8.9 *Barbari tamen velut diffractis caveis bestiae per spatiorum amplitudines fusius incitati oppidum petivere nómine Díbaltum* For the generic terms *barbari* and *Gothi*, instead of the more specific *Thervingi*, *Greuthungi*, etc. see ad 31.5.3 (pp. 84–85). Earlier comparisons with wild beasts breaking loose illustrated the fighting spirit of Gallic soldiers (19.6.4 *dentatae in caveis bestiae*) and the bloody-mindedness of Maximinus; 28.1.10 *ut saepe faciunt amphitheatrales ferae diffractis tandem solutae posticis* (p. 24). Amm. has a predilection for animal imagery; see ad 26.6.10 (p. 147), where among others Blockley, 1975, 183–184 is cited, who furnishes a list of these comparisons; some additions in Den Boeft 2007, 296 n. 8. Pace Petschenig, 1892, 691 (“Da die Itali *spatiarum* lesen, ist ohne Zweifel *Thraciarum* richtig”) the gen. *inversus spatiorum amplitudines* may be defended by comparing 25.2.6 *amplitudine spatiorum*. Amm. has a predilection for *fusius* to denote wide spaces; see ad 22.8.2 (p. 93); TLL VI 1.1573.40–49. *Dibaltum* in the province of Haemimontus, also mentioned in 31.12.15, was apparently not one of the important cities of Thracia in the fourth century; otherwise it would have been mentioned in 27.4.12. Plin. *Nat.* 4.45 calls it *Deultum* (cf. *CIL* 6.31692 *colonia Flavia Pacis Deultensium*), the Antonine Itinerary Debelco (*Itin. Anton. Aug.* 229.3). Modern Debel in Bulgaria; Talbert 22 E6. See Wanke, 1990, 55 and Von Breckow, 1997.

*ubi tribunum Scutariorum Barzimerem inventum cum suis Cornutisque et aliis peditum numeris castra ponentem assiliunt, eruditum pulvere militari rectorem* For Barzimeres (*PLRE* I, Barzimeres), who like Saturninus, Traianus and Profuturus had been sent from the East to Thrace to deal with the Gothic problem, see 30.1.11 (p. 14). It is indeed remarkable, as Kulikowski, 2012, 89 observes, that there is no reference to Barzimeres’ poor performance in the

affair of king Papa (30.1.12–15). There Amm. had ridiculed him, together with the general Danielus, as a blunderer for being misled by the clever stratagems of Papa and for being unable to catch the Armenian king when he fled back from Tarsus to his home country, which is in striking contrast to the positive evaluation Barzimeres receives here. There is a comparable discrepancy between the depiction of Lupicinus in 27.10.12 and 31.5.9 (p. 94).

*Tribunus* is a title often used loosely for all commanding officers; Jones 640 and ad 22.11.2 (p. 200), 23.3.9 (p. 53), 24.3.1 (p. 71), 30.1.7 (p. 11) and 31.5.9. For tribunes in general in Amm. see Castillo, 2004. The *Scutarii* belonged to the *scholae palatinae*; see 20.2.5 (p. 21), 22.11.2 (p. 200) and 25.10.9 (p. 327). Since Amm. mentions that they were in the process of pitching camp when the Goths and their allies attacked them, Barzimeres and the troops under his command had probably just arrived at Dibaltum. The *Cornuti* belonged to the *auxilia palatina* of western, Germanic origin. If Alföldi, 1959 is right—and there is no reason to doubt his view—the unit goes back at least to the beginning of the fourth century since *Cornuti* soldiers, recognizable by the horn on their helmets, are depicted on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, and were thus part of Constantine's army that defeated Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge on 28 October 312; cf. Zos. 2.15.1 who mentions that Constantine's army consisted of conquered barbarians, Germans, Gauls and Britons. They often operated together with the *Bracchiati* with whom they seem to have formed a “Doppeltruppe”, as, for instance, at the battle of Strasbourg in 357; 16.12.43; Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 132–137, 323–324. The *Cornuti* are also mentioned in 15.5.30, 16.11.9 and 16.12.63 and in *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.14, 24, 169; 7.9, 18; *Not. Dign. Or.* 6.9, 6.50. For a *ducenarius* of the *Iovii Cornuti* see ad 26.5.3 (p. 104).

As was observed ad 21.12.22 (pp. 181–182), dust rather than mud is characteristic of the battle fields of antiquity. Amm. uses *eruditus* for very different skills, such as harming others (*ad nocendum*, 14.1.2), flattery (*in assentationem*, 15.8.2), coping with adversity (*ad tolerandam rerum asperitatem*, 18.6.22), medicine (22.16.18) and warfare (23.6.83 *ad pulveres Martios*). For *rector* see ad 31.7.1 (p. 121).

*qui confestim, ut adigebat necessitas instantis exitiū, iussa canere bellicum tuba lateribus firmatis prorupit cum promptis accinctis ad proelium* The Romans used the *tuba* to signal the start and the end of a battle; see the notes ad 20.7.6 (p. 161), 24.4.15 (p. 120) and 27.10.12 (p. 245); add to the literature mentioned there Alexandrescu, 2010 and Rance, 2015a. The expression *lateribus firmatis* is unique, but the meaning is clear: cf. 16.2.6 (*confertis lateribus*), 16.12.37 (*muniret latera sua firmitus pedes*) and 25.3.2 *teguntur fir-*

8.10

*miter latera* (p. 60). The formation is known as *agmen quadratum*; see ad 27.2.1 (p. 15). For *promptus* ‘resolute’ cf. 27.1.2 *cum milite egreditur ad bella ineunda promptissimo*. There may be a distant echo here of Verg. *A.* 11.486 *cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus*.

*fortiterque resistendo pari pugnandi sorte discessisset, ni eum equitum accursus complurium anhelum circumvenisset et fessum. et ita cecidit interfectis barbarorum non paucis, quorum clades copiarum magnitudo celabat* Amm. uses *pari sorte* in two different meanings: ‘in the same way’, as in 28.2.14 *suboles parva etiamtum...pari sorte deleta*, and ‘undecided’, as here and in 24.2.14 *proelium...pari sorte diremptum est*. It is very tempting, but not absolutely necessary, to accept Clark’s *discesserat* c.c. The relative clause once more emphasizes the numerical superiority of the barbarians. As may be concluded from 31.12.15, the tribune Equitius was present at Dibaltum but, although captured, managed to escape; *quia semel captus ab hostibus lapsusque a Dibalto*.

## CHAPTER 9

### *Introduction*

After the defeat of Barzimeres at Dibaltum the Goths decided to attack the general Frigeridus, who had pitched camp on a strategically important location near Beroea. Regrettably, Ammianus is rather vague about the movements of the Roman generals, nor does he make clear whether the Goths operated as one army unit or in disparate bands. In any case, Frigeridus decided to avoid a military confrontation and withdrew in the direction of Illyricum. Ammianus praises him for his cautiousness and his care for his men (§1–2). On his way Frigeridus came upon the Greuthungian leader Farnobius, who roamed the region together with the tribe of the Taifali, with whom the Gothic chieftain had formed an alliance. In this case it is likely that these Greuthungi and Taifali were not operating in association with other (Gothic) groups. Frigeridus destroyed the barbarians almost to the last man. The few survivors he sent to the Po valley to work in the fields (§3–4). In a miniature digression Ammianus informs his readers with disgust about initiatory homosexual practices among the Taifali (§5).

*Re in hunc modum peracta Gothi, quid postea molirentur, incerti quaeritabant* 9.1  
*Frigeridum tamquam obicem validum, ubi reperirent, excisuri* The abl. abs. *re peracta* refers to the battle in which Barzimeres had fallen, but the choice of verb is surprising, since in classical Latin *re peracta* ‘when a decision had been reached’ is the opposite of *re integra* ‘when the case was still open’; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 6.13.4 *singulos enim integra re dissentire fas esse, peracta, quod pluribus placuisset, cunctis tuendum* (“though individuals were at liberty to dissent while a matter was still under discussion, once it had been settled the whole assembly should abide by the will of the majority”, tr. Radice). The battle against Barzimeres was only a link in the chain of events leading up to the battle at Adrianople, and the Goths were undecided what to do next.

In chapter seven Amm. had reported that Frigeridus (*PLRE* I, Frigeridus) was on his way to Thrace with Pannonian and transalpine auxiliaries (*cum Pannonicis et transalpinis auxiliis adventantem*, 31.7.3, pp. 124–125), but that he did not personally participate in any battles against the Goths (31.7.5, pp. 126–127). See ad 25.9.3 (p. 287) for the different shades of meaning of



*obex*, and for *excīdere* / *exscindere* ad 20.7.1 (p. 152) and TLL V 2.1240.33–49. The verb *excīdere* continues the metaphorical use of *obex*. Frigeridus was an obstacle that had to be “cut out” (OLD s.v. 1).

*et cultiore victu somnoque parumper assumpto eum sequebantur ut ferae docti, quod Gratiani monitu reversus in Thracias et prope Beroeam vallo metato eventus rerum speculabatur ancipites* The expression *cultior victus* is unique; TLL III 1691.67–70 quotes as comparable phrases Sidon. *epist.* 2.13.7 *dapes cultae ferculis* (‘trays’) *cultioribus* and Isid. *reg. monach.* 9.3 *abbas...nec aliud quam ceteri nec cultius quam quae in communi consistunt, praeparari sibi quippiam expetat*. As the comparison of the Goths with wild beasts shows, *sequebantur* means ‘they went after him’, as in 31.7.13 *sequebantur equites hinc inde fugientium occipitia lacertis ingentibus praecedentes* and 31.13.10 *Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari nostros*. For animal images in Amm. see ad 31.8.9 (p. 150). The word *fera* occurs twelve times in the *Res Gestae*. This is the second time that the Goths are compared to *ferae* (cf. 31.7.9); in 31.8.9 and 31.15.2 they are called *bestiae*.

The last time Frigeridus was mentioned, he had handed over his command to Richomerus near the *oppidum* Salices (31.7.5). For an inscription (*Iatrus* p. 312) with Frigeridus’ name see ad 31.7.3 (p. 124). Like Richomerus he probably retreated after the battle at Salices, but went back (*reversus*) on the order of Gratian (*Gratiani monitu*) to Thrace and pitched his camp near Beroea. For the use of the plural for the diocese of Thrace and of the singular for the province of this name see ad 20.8.1 (p. 182) and 31.4.5 (p. 66). Beroea (or Berone according to *Tab. Peut.* VII 2), the present Stara Zagora, was located immediately south of the Haemus mountains (Talbert 22 C6) in the province of Thrace; see the note ad 27.4.12 (p. 95). For its strategic importance, see Wanke, 1990, 172 and Tritle, 1997, 7–13. For the precise meaning of *vallo metato* ‘having pitched camp’ see ad 27.2.5 (p. 22).

Angliviél de la Beaumelle n. 471 has the interesting suggestion that Frigeridus hoped to control the route from Nicopolis in the north, modern Nikiup (Talbert 22 C5; cf. ad 27.4.12, pp. 96–97) to the Hebrus valley in the south and at the same time the access to the Succus pass in the west, thereby threatening the Gothic supply routes. Hughes, 2013, 170–171 plausibly suggests that the Goths wanted to dislodge Frigeridus in order to force a passage to the west.

- 9.2 *et hi quidem ad patrandum propositum discursione rapida maturabant. ille vero regendi conservandique militis non ignarus* The various meanings of *propositum* are discussed ad 20.5.4 (p. 120). See TLL V 1.1368.65 et seq. for the very rare noun *discursio* ‘raid’, ‘strike’ and cf. 15.4.11 *non iusto proelio*,

*sed discursionibus...universos in fugam coegere foedissimam.* The litotes *non ignarus* is found only here in the *Res Gestae*. Amm. uses litotes sparingly; see ad 22.3.4 (p. 24) and 22.8.39 (p. 134). Just as Amm. had praised Saturninus in 31.8.5 for giving up the blockade of the mountain passes, he now praises Frigeridus as an able and cautious commander for his decision to avoid battle with the Goths. In 31.7.5 (p. 126–127) Amm. had defended him against the accusation that he had feigned attacks of gout in order to avoid the heat of battle by calling it malicious slander: *ut obtrectatores finxere malivoli*.

*id, quod cogitatum est, suspicatus vel exploratorum relatione, quos miserat, aperte instructus per montium celsa silvarumque densitates ad Illyricum redit erectus prosperitate nimia, quam ei fors obtulit insperata* Amm. often uses *cogitare* in the sense of “consilium inire” (TLL III 1469.74–75), cf. *cogitatum* ‘plan’ in 14.9.5 *cogitatorum socium* and 27.7.9 *secus cogitata vel gesta*. For *exploratores*, i.e. military scouts, in Amm. see the notes ad 20.4.1 (p. 53), 21.13.4 (p. 196) and 25.7.1 (p. 221). For the gen. *inversus montium* and *silvarum* see ad 20.6.7 (p. 146), 22.4.5 (p. 43) and 30.6.6 (p. 147). About the transferred sense of *erectus* TLL V 2.785.42 notes “tam in bonam partem (i.q. celsus, sublimis...) quam in malam (i.q. superbus, contumax)”. The former (‘encouraged’, ‘full of confidence’) is evidently intended here. As TLL X 2.2208.12 remarks, *prosperitas* is one of Amm.’s favourite terms. *Redit* is in all probability a form of the perfect; see ad 31.14.1 (p. 244).

Frigeridus went westwards to Illyricum; whether the prefecture is meant or the diocese (to which the province of Valeria belonged of which Frigeridus had in all probability been *dux* before 377; *PLRE* I, Frigeridus) is not clear. Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 472 opts for the prefecture. However, Frigeridus probably did not reach either, because in 31.10.21 Amm. reports that he was guarding the Succi pass until he was replaced by Maurus (*Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti munireque prope-ranti Succorum angustias...successor Maurus nomine mittitur comes*).

*repedando enim congregatusque in cuneos sensim progrediens Gothorum optimatem Farnobium cum vastatoriis globis vagantem licentius occupavit ducentemque Taifalos nuper in societatem adhibitos* The verb *repedare* is found in archaic texts, disappears in the classical period, and turns up again in Late Latin; see the index in Löfstedt, 1911, s.v. Alt- und Spätlatein. Festus p. 281M says: *repedare recedere*, quoting Pacuvius. It occurs twice in Lucilius (676 and 677); thereafter it is found only in Amm. (17.2.4, 19.6.9, 24.4.30, 25.1.3, 26.5.11) and other late authors. *Congregatusque*, proposed by 9.3

Günther, 1888, 58, seems a necessary emendation of *congregatosque* (EA; for the absence of V in this passage see ad 31.8.5 on p. 146), since the accusative does not fit the sentence. The nominative refers to Frigeridus and his men. Günther rightly interprets *congregatus in cuneos* as the equivalent of *cuneatim* in 24.2.14 *imperator...cuneatim stipatus* ‘surrounded by a closely packed formation’ and 30.1.5 *egressus cuneatim*. Cf. also 16.12.20 *quos cum iam prope densantes semet in cuneos nostrorum conspexere ductores*, 27.1.1 *cuneatim egressa multitudo* (p. 4) and 31.10.4 (Lentienses) *conferti in praedatorios globos*. Both this detail and *sensim* (“cautiously”, OLD s.v. b) emphasize Frigeridus’ wariness. For the use of *optimates* for non-Romans see the note ad 31.2.7 (p. 23). For Farnobius (*PLRE* I, Farnobius), leader of the Greuthungi, see the note ad 31.4.12 (p. 77) and for the Taifali see ad 31.3.7, p. 48, and the next section.

*qui, si dignum est dici, nostris ignotarum gentium terrore dispersis transiere flumen direpturi vacua defensoribus loca* See ad 21.3.5 *si dignum est credere* (p. 39), a borrowing from Vergil (*si credere dignum est*, *G.* 3.91 and *A.* 6.173). Note, however, that in these cases the phrase expresses doubt, whereas here Amm. voices his indignation about the shameful neglect of duty by the border troops. He does not specify when they had abandoned their post in panic, but it must have been after the outbreak of violence following the banquet offered to Alavivus and Fritigern in Marcianopolis (31.5.8). Like the Greuthungi (31.5.3) the Taifali seized the opportunity when the Roman troops were otherwise engaged. The word *nostris* refers to the Roman border troops (*limitanei*) stationed at the Danube (*flumen*). The predatory bands led by Farnobius may well have been unfamiliar to the Romans, the Taifali definitely were not; they had been known to Rome since at least the end of the third century, as is explained in the note ad 31.3.7 (p. 48). It is unlikely that the Taifali and the band commanded by Farnobius were part of the main Gothic force.

Lindenbrog corrected *transire* (EA) to *transiere*. The cursus proves him right (for the antepenultimate accent on *transiere* see Harmon 211).

- 9.4 *eorum catervis subito visis certare comminus dux cautissimus parans adortusque nationis utriusque grassatores minantes etiamtum acerbas* See the notes ad 16.2.6 (p. 16) and 20.7.14 (pp. 171–172) for the use of *caterva* to denote barbarian troops. According to Amm. the best strategy in dealing with the numerically superior barbarians was to avoid regular battles and to attack them piecemeal (31.7.2 *particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia*). This may explain why he thought it necessary to repeat that Frigeridus was a

cautious commander, when he prepared for a direct confrontation with Farnobius' troops.

The present participle *parans* has preterite force on a par with *adortus*, for which see ad 27.10.1 (p. 226). *Nationis utriusque* is Henri de Valois' brilliant conjecture for *nationes ut priusque* which he found in his manuscripts. *Grassatores*, 'marauders', is a term eminently suited to Farnobius and his men, see ad 24.3.2 (p. 72). If the conjecture is correct, this is a clear indication that Amm. did not consider the Taifali to be a Gothic people.

Uttering threats is a recurrent element in the run-up to battles with barbarians. Cf. 15.4.9 *strictis mucronibus discurrebant frendendo minas tumidas intentantes*. In view of 26.5.12 *interneciva minantibus barbaris* it seems best to read *acerba*.

*trucidassetque omnes ad unum, ut ne nuntius quidem cladis póst apparéret, ni cum aliis multis perempto Farnobio metuendo antehac incensore turbarum obtestatus prece impensa superstitibus pepercisset* Unless Valesius' deletion of *-que* after *trucidasset* is accepted, we have to assume a lacuna after *acerba*. Cf. for similar remarks 28.5.7 *nec quisquam eorum genitales revivere potuit lares ne uno quidem caedibus concorporalium superesse permissio*, 28.2.9 *nec indicaturus gesta superfuit quisquam praeter Syagrium*. Amm. probably writes *appareret* instead of *apparuisset* c.c. Curiously, Amm. wavers between *incensor* "one who kindles or sets fire to" (OLD) and *incentor*, literally 'one who sets the tune': 15.1.2 *igneus turbarum incentor*, 16.12.24 (Chnodomarius) *nefarius belli totius incentor*. The addition of *igneus* suggests that he was not fully aware of the difference in meaning between the two words. The participle *obtestatus* is used as a passive, for which see Flobert, 1975, 358 and Pinkster I 283–285. For *impensus* see ad 20.11.18 (p. 272).

*vivosque omnes circa Mutinam Regiumque et Parmam, Italica oppida, rura cultueros exterminavit* See for the use of the future participle in a final sense ('*qui colerent*') ad 20.2.2 (p. 13). Since in the next section Amm. presents a very succinct ethnographic sketch of the Taifali, it is likely that these settlers consisted predominantly of people from this nation; Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 474. The cities mentioned are located in the region of Emilia in northern Italy. In the time of the Lombards there was a town Taivolo, now San Giovanni in Persiceto, which may be reminiscent of the settlement of the Taifali; Cracco Ruggini, 1961, 62 n. 150. According to Wolfram, 1988, 92 part of the Taifali were sent to Gaul where they became part of the Sarmato-Taifalian cavalry unit; *Not. Dign. Occ.* 6.16, 6.59, 7.205, 42.65 and *Or.* 5.13. Earlier, Alamanni had been settled as *tributarii* in the Po valley, as

Amm. had related in 28.5.15 (p. 252). The settlers probably had the same status as these Alamanni, which implies that they were wholly subjected to Rome.

- 9.5 *hanc Taifalorum gentem—ac turpem obscenae vitae flagitiis ita accepimus mersam, ut apud eos nefandi concubitus foedere copulentur maribus puberes aetatis viriditatem in eorum pollutis usibus consumpturi* Clark was probably right in suspecting a lacuna after *gentem* c.c.; Walter's *tetram ac* seems acceptable. Amm. makes no secret of his disapproval of homosexuality: *flagitiis, obscenae, nefandi* and *pollutis* are unequivocal. For *flagitium* cf. 28.1.28 *adulteriorum flagitiis obnoxiae vel stuprorum*. The only other occurrence of *obscenus* in the *Res Gestae* is in the elogium on Valentinian in 30.9.2 *nullo contagio conscientiae violatus obscenae*, which, on account of the present context, is explained in the commentary ad loc. (pp. 187–188) as a reference to homosexuality. In 16.8.4 *post nefandum concubitus* refers to adultery, whereas in Ov. *Met.* 6.540–541 *ante nefandos concubitus* and Sen. *Ag.* 30 *gnatae nefandos petere concubitus iubet* incest is meant. The transferred sense of *mergere* is also found in Vell. 2.91.3 *omni flagitiorum scelerumque conscientia mersus*; TLL VIII 835.81–836.2. For *copulare* (“de amore et rebus venereis”) see TLL IV 923.23 et seq. *Viridis aetas* is often used of youth, as in Plin. *Ep.* 1.12.5 *quoad viridis aetas* and, paradoxically, Verg. *A.* 6.304 *iam senior, set cruda deo viridisque senectus*. For *pollutus* in the sense of “sordidus, immundus sim.” see TLL X 1.2568.70–2569.8. Amm.’s views on sexuality in general are discussed by Sabbah, 1994 and Brandt, 1999, 127–128.

Sexual conduct is according to Amm. an important aspect of a person’s character, as is obvious from his necrologies of emperors. Constantius was extraordinarily chaste (*perque spatia vitae longissima impendio castus*; 21.16.6, p. 253) as were Julian (*inviolata castitate enituit*; 25.4.2, pp. 120–121) and Valentinian (*omni pudicitiae cultu domi castus et foris*; 30.9.2, p. 187); by contrast Jovian had a tender eye for women (*veneri...indulgens*; 25.10.15, p. 340). Sexual behaviour deviant from what was acceptable to Romans is a standard element in the descriptions of the other by Amm. The Saracens have mercenary wives (*uxores mercennariae*) with whom they have intercourse with unbelievable passion (*incredibile est, quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque solvitur sexus*; 14.4.4). About the Persians Amm. reports that they had a multitude of concubines, but no relations with boys; *effusius plerique soluti in venerem aegreque contenti multitudine pelicum puerilium stuprorum expertes pro opibus quisque asciscens matrimonia plura vel pauca* (23.6.76, p. 218; Feraco, 2004, 279–282).

*porro si qui iam adultus aprum exceperit solus vel interemerit ursum immanem, colluvione liberatur incesti* For indefinite and interrogative *qui* and *quis* see ad 22.9.10 (p. 169) and 22.16.23 (p. 311). On Amm.'s obsession with *immanis* and its derivatives see ad 31.7.8 (p. 131). For *colluvio* see ad 21.14.5 (*animas puras et a colluvione peccandi immaculata corporis societate discretas* (p. 227). The relations between men and adolescents may be seen as a form of initiatory homosexuality, for which see Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 475 and Bremmer, 1989. This 'rite de passage' transformed boys into men. Curiously, Salvianus was of the opinion that the barbarians were, in this respect also, superior to the Romans. The Vandali for instance were immune to the sexual depravity they encountered in Africa: *gub. 7.86 Ingressos haec loca Wandalos quis non putet omni se vitiorum atque impuritatum caeno immersisse?* ('Who would have thought that the Vandals after their arrival in those parts did not plunge into all this filth of vice and impurity?').



## CHAPTER 10

### *Introduction*

This is the only chapter in Book 31 that deals with the western part of the empire. The Alamannic Lentienses broke their long treaty with the Romans when in the winter of 377/78 they were informed by a Lentiensian *armiger* in Roman service that Gratian had been summoned by Valens to march eastward to reinforce the military strength against the Goths in Thrace (§1–3). In February 378 the Lentienses crossed the frozen Rhine, but were driven back by the auxiliary army units of the Petulantes and the Celts (§4). Knowing that the greater part of the Roman army was on its way to Illyricum, the Lentienses assembled a force of 40,000 (or 70,000) men to invade again (§5). Gratian, alarmed by these developments, recalled his troops, and gave Nannienus and Mallobaudes the command against the Lentienses. The latter were crushed in the battle of Argentaria, and only 5000 Lentienses escaped with their lives (§6–10).

When Gratian heard about this victory while already on his way to the East, he interrupted his march and crossed the Rhine hoping to destroy the Lentienses utterly. Surprised by the sudden arrival of Gratian and his troops, the Lentienses retreated to higher ground. Together with the emperor an elite corps, to which every legion had to contribute five hundred men, scaled the mountains in pursuit of the Lentienses, but when they were not able to defeat them and suffered great losses, Gratian decided to starve the Lentienses out by surrounding them on all sides (§11–15). The Lentienses kept up their resistance and retreated deeper into the hills, but seeing that Gratian was determined to destroy them they eventually surrendered (§16–17).

The sections 18–19 are dedicated to Gratian's personality. Amm. calls him a young man of splendid character who would have been on a par with the most distinguished emperors of the past had he not possessed an inclination towards improper behaviour, like Commodus.

After the arrangements with the Lentienses Gratian continued his march eastward by way of Arbor Felix and Lauriacum (§20). The chapter ends with two sections (§21–22) on the replacement of Frigeridus, an extremely able commander in the eyes of Amm. who should have remained in command considering the situation the empire was in, by the notoriously corrupt and unreliable Maurus.



Ammianus does not provide chronological details about the battle at Argentaria, the start of Gratian's march eastward, the duration of the emperor's campaign against the Lentienses and his journey from Arbor Felix to Lauriacum. In contrast to what is commonly believed we have opted for a chronology which dates the main events described in this chapter to June and July of 378.

- 10.1** *Haec autumnno vergente in hiemem funesti per Thracias turbines converrebant* This is one of the two chronological indications in this chapter. The other one is in § 4 below: *Februario mense*. Amm. refers to the autumn of 377 and the winter of 377–378. For Thrace see the note ad 31.3.8 (p. 50). Amm. likes to use *vergere in* to denote a chronological change: *dies in meridiem vergit* (16.12.11), *vergente in vesperam die* (22.13.5). Whereas in 31.2.1 the disastrous developments were compared with sowing and harvesting, here destructive tornados swept the disasters, reported in the previous chapter, together.
- 10.2** *quae temporum rabies velut cuncta cientibus Furiis ad regiones quoque longinquas progrediens late serpebat* The expression *temporum rabies* may have been inspired by Livy, who in 28.34.4 mentions *fatalem rabiem temporis* spreading *velut contagione quadam pestifera*. The words *cuncta* and *late* emphasize the depth of the frenzy. The Furies seemed to stir up everything and this resulted in a widespread fury. The reader is reminded of the very first section of Book 31 (p. 1), where the Furies help Bellona to transfer misery eastward, just as here they are said to bring the frenzy of war to the far West.

*et iam Lentienses, Alamannicus populus tractibus Raetiarum confinis, per fallaces discursus violato foedere dudum concepto collimitia nostra temptabat, quae clades hinc exitiale primordium sumpsit* See for *et* “beginning a confirmatory sentence” (OLD s.v. 2) ad 30.3.4 (p. 54). As is often the case, the predicate *temptabat* is in agreement with the apposition *populus*, which is closer to the verb, not with the subject *Lentienses*; Pinkster I 1259–1260. Amm. often uses the fourth declension noun *tractus* with the meaning ‘region’. This is not a nouveauté: cf. OLD s.v. 7.

The *gens Alamannica* of the Lentienses and their inroads into Roman territory were previously mentioned in 15.4.1 *et Lentiensibus, Alamannicis pagis, indictum est bellum collimitia saepe Romana latius irrumpentibus*. Amm. is the only source for this Germanic tribe that lived in southern Germany; Geuenich, 2001. For Raetia, roughly comprising modern northern Switzerland and southern Bavaria, see ad 21.3.1 (p. 35) and Talbert 12 D–F4. No treaties between the Lentienses and Rome have been explicitly mentioned

by Amm., but it is not unlikely that an agreement was reached in 356 between Constantius and the Alamanni, including the Lentienses, after they had been defeated by forces commanded by the *magister equitum* Arbitio in 355 (15.4.7–13); cf. 16.12.15 *pacem impetraverunt* and 16.12.16 *postea vero pace data discesserat imperator*; Lorenz, 1997, 169 n. 701; Colombo, 2007a, 204. In that case the treaty was concluded more than twenty years earlier, hence *dudum*.

The Lentienses undertook ‘treacherous military actions’. See for this meaning of *discursus* ad 16.12.37 (p. 245) and also ad 20.6.2 (p. 137) on the verb *discurrere*. As to *foedere dudum concepto*, the verb *concupere* is used to denote solemn statements; see ad 23.6.35 (p. 175). Note the wordplay in *ex-istiale primordium*: the beginning contained its own final destruction.

*ex hac natione quidam inter principis armigeros militans poscente negotio reversus in larem, ut erat in loquendo effusior, interrogantes multos, quid ageretur in palatio, docet arcessitu Valentis patrum Gratianum orientem versus mox signa moturum, ut duplicatis viribus repellantur plagarum terminalium accolae ad Romanarum rerum excidium coniurati* See for *lar* denoting a person’s home ad 21.5.12 (p. 70). From the use of this term it may be concluded that the *negotium* of the *armiger* was a personal task. He happened to be a chatterbox, who provided his large audience with vital information. Later he was punished for this, as Amm. relates in § 20 below (p. 176), where he is designated as *scutarius*. It is unlikely that he was the only source of information for the Lentienses since considerable interaction, including exchanges of strategic intelligence, went on in frontier regions between Romans and barbarians; Matthews 316–317; Lee, 1993, 128 ff. Moreover, as Amm. states in the next section, the Lentienses had seen that considerable numbers of soldiers were on the move from Gaul to Illyricum. For the *armigeri*, the imperial bodyguard, see ad 24.5.6 (p. 160). They belonged to one of the *scholae palatinae*, which in the fourth century consisted for the greater part of men of Germanic descent; Frank, 1969, 59–63. *Palatium* can refer to the physical imperial residence as well as to the court, see the note ad 26.10.1 (pp. 265–266). For *oriens* see ad 20.1.1 (p. 2); in this case it does not refer to the diocese of that name or a particular part of it, but to the eastern half of the empire. For Gratian (*PLRE* I, Fl. Gratianus 2) see ad 26.9.1 (p. 242). See for *versus* the thorough exposition in Kühner-Stegmann 1.537. The adj. *terminalis* occurs only here in the *Res Gestae* and in 18.2.5 *lapides terminales Romanorum et Burgundiorum*; cf. also 14.10.14 *per plagarum quoque accolae extimarum*.

10.3

- 10.4 *quibus auide Lentienses acceptis ipsi quoque haec quasi vicini cernentes, ut sunt veloces et rapidi, conferti in praedatorios globos Rhenum gelu pervium pervadunt pruinis Februario mense* Apart from being informed by the *armiger* the Lentienses, who lived nearby, also observed for themselves (*ipsi quoque*) that troops were moving to the East. See for *quasi* as “Vergleichspartikel” Szantyr 385 and OLD s.v. 6. Merobaudes had feared that the withdrawal of the troops which were sent to the East would leave gaps in the Roman defences of the Rhine frontier: *Merobaudis...veriti, ne destitutae ad-miniculis Galliae vastarentur licenter Rheno perrupto* (31.7.4, p. 126). Preparations for Gratian’s expedition to Thrace may already have started in the winter of 377/378. The Lentienses crossed the frozen Rhine in the month of February; for the crossing of frozen rivers by barbarians cf. *cum necdum solutae vernis caloribus nives amnem undique pervium faciunt* (19.11.4) and see also ad 27.1.1 (pp. 3–4). Since the Lentiensian attacks were quick and executed in small bands (*praedatorios globos*), they were no more than raids, like so many of the Germanic invasions, to be compared, for instance, to the inroads by the Quadi into Pannonia as described in 29.6; Drinkwater, 2007, 313–314. The part. perf. pass. of *confercire*, “to pack closely together” (OLD s.v.) occurs quite often in a military context; there are more than twenty instances in the *Res Gestae*.

*quos tendentes prope cum Petulantibus Celtae non sine sui iactura afflictos graviter adultis viribus averterunt* The auxiliary army units of the Petulantes and the Celts are often mentioned together (20.4.2, 20.4.20, 20.5.9, 21.3.2, 22.12.6) and are probably of Gallic origin; see ad 20.4.2 (pp. 59–60) and e.g. *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5.16, 17. They were encamped nearby (the location of their camp is not known) and beat the Lentienses off (*avertunt*; see ad 29.5.38, p. 198), though not without losses on their own side (for *sui* see ad 30.10.6, pp. 205–206). Cf. for *adultus* 16.12.9 *adulta robustaque virtute* (p. 182).

- 10.5 *verum retrocedere coacti Germani atque noscentes exercitus pleramque partem in Illyricum ut imperatore mox affuturo praegressam exarsere flagrantius; maioraque conceptantes pagorum omnium incolis in unum collectis cum quadraginta armorum milibus vel septuaginta, ut quidam laudes extollendo principis iactitarunt, sublatis in superbiam nostra confidentius irruerunt* The Lentienses were forced to withdraw, but then found out that the best part of the Roman army had preceded the emperor, who was to join them soon. It is unclear to which troops Amm. refers with *exercitus pleramque partem*. Presumably, Gratian had sent soldiers ahead—the troops Richomeres had returned to Gaul (31.8.2, p. 143)?—before he himself started his journey east-

ward. Possibly (some of) these troops were recalled to participate in the expedition against the Lentienses. Whatever the case, the Lentienses, led by their king Priarius (§ 10), prepared a real invasion. All the inhabitants of the villages were brought together in an army of 40,000 or even 70,000 soldiers. The last mentioned number was, however, used by those who aimed to extol the emperor's feats. Lorenz, 1997, 170 n. 705 and Colombo, 2007a, 207 opt for the lower estimate; Angliviél de la Beaumelle n. 479 thinks that even 40,000 men is an overstatement. Only 5000 men of the Lentiensian army survived, as Amm. reports in § 10 below. It is clear, for instance from 16.12.26, that such a large force is not impossible, because Amm. mentions there that the Alamanni had an army of 35,000 men at the battle of Strasbourg.

Be this as it may, the Lentienses developed the arrogance to invade 'our' territory. *Sublati in* + acc. is found only here in the *Res Gestae*; elsewhere (27.5.3, 28.6.10) Amm. combines the participle with abl. *fiducia*. The adverb *confidentius* should be interpreted as used 'in malam partem'; see for this ad 20.4.18 (p. 100). As to the frequentativum *conceptare*, see ad 23.3.4 (p. 36). The Lentienses crossed the Rhine possibly at the beginning of June, when the water level was low; see ad 27.1.1 (p. 4). It has been suggested that this took place at Breisach, which is not far away from the place where the battleground of Argentaria (§ 8, p. 167) has to be sought; Lorenz, 1997, 170; Drinkwater, 2007, 314.

For Illyricum, usually part of the *praefectura Illyrici Italiae et Africae* but during some periods of the fourth century an independent prefecture, see the notes ad 20.1.1 (p. 1) and 21.6.5 (p. 84).

*Quibus Gratianus cum formidine magna compertis revocatis cohortibus, quas praemiserat in Pannonias convocatisque aliis, quas in Galliis retinuerat dispositio prudens, Nannieno negotium dedit, virtutis sobriae duci* Gratian was understandably alarmed by the actions of the Lentienses; he recalled cohorts which he had sent already eastward (see the note ad § 5), and combined them with troops he had left behind for the protection of Gaul. Gratian himself was still in Trier as is clear from *Cod. Theod.* 1.15.9, dated 1 June 378 and addressed to Alypius (*PLRE* I, Alypius 13, "? Vicar of Africa a. 378"), who received it on 7 July: *Dat. K. Iun. Treviris. Accepta Non. Iul. Valente vi et Valentiniano ii AA. consul.* It has been suggested by Seeck, 1919, 99 that the date of this law should be 1 January instead of 1 June for two reasons: 1. "zur Reise von Trier nach Karthago brauchte ein kaiserlicher Brief in der Regel viel längere Zeit, als hier zwischen Datum und Acceptum liegt". 2. "Zudem ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass Gratian am 1. Juni 378 noch in Trier war, da

er im Sommer dieses Jahres seinem Oheim, der gegen die Gothen kämpfte, zu Hilfe zog". Scholars, with the exception of Colombo, 2007a, 206–207, have accepted Seeck's line of reasoning. They consider 20 April, based on *Cod. Theod.* 8.5.35, the latest attested date for Gratian's presence in Trier, and assume that the emperor started his journey to the eastern part of the empire soon after that. However, there is no compelling reason to follow Seeck in adapting the date of *Cod. Theod.* 1.15.9. Firstly, the law could easily have reached Alypius within five weeks. If the law was issued on 1 January, as Seeck suggests, it would have taken more than six months before it reached Alypius on 7 July, and that is more than unlikely. Secondly, Gratian's military actions and movements fit well within a chronological window of two months (June and July), since Gratian travelled at great speed as may be concluded from *exserta celeritate aliorum properans* and *porrectis itineribus* in §18 and §20 below. Therefore Gratian most likely left Trier shortly after 1 June, approximately a month after Valens left Antioch for Thrace (see ad 31.11.1, p. 182). For Pannonia see the notes ad 21.5.13 (pp. 71–72), 21.10.6 (pp. 138–139) and 26.4.5 (p. 88). For Nannienus (*PLRE* I, Nannienus), see ad 28.5.1 (pp. 233–234).

*eique Mallobaudem iunxit pari potestate collegam, domesticorum comitem regemque Francorum, virum bellicosum et fortem* Like Nannienus, the Frankish king Mallobaudes (*PLRE* I, Mallobaudes), who had gone over to the Romans but seems also to have remained king of the Franks (Waas, 1971<sup>2</sup>, 92), was mentioned before by Amm., in 30.3.7 (p. 56). For the office of *comes domesticorum* see ad 20.4.21 (p. 107). Mallobaudes' fellow Frank Richomer also held the position of *comes domesticorum* (31.7.4, p. 125 and 31.12.4, p. 202) which may be seen as evidence for "Kollegialität der *comitiva domesticorum*"; Demandt, 1970, 599. It is unclear which office the *dux* Nannienus held (for *dux* in a general sense see ad 31.5.1, p. 83), whose rank was equal to that of Mallobaudes (*pari potestate collegam*); Ensslin, 1931, 132 suggests he was *magister equitum praesentalis*; Demandt, 1970, 599 opts for *comes rei militaris*, and Colombo, 2007a, 209 proposes that he held the office of *comes per utramque Germaniam*. As is noted ad 20.1.2 (p. 6), *bellicosus* is a positive quality.

- 10.7 *Nannieno igitur pensante fortunarum versabiles casus ideoque cunctandum esse censente Mallobaudes alta pugnandi cupiditate raptatus, ut consueverat, ire in hostem differendi impatiens agebatur* See for *igitur* ad 25.1.18 (p. 36). It is not clear why Henri de Valois rejected *autem* (EA), which marks the contrast between the two generals ("on the other hand", OLD s.v. 1), in favour

of *alta*. Amm. sketches the different characters of the two commanders in brief terms: Nannienus weighed up the fluctuating chances of fortune and therefore concluded that it was appropriate to delay military actions; Mallobaudes, on the other hand, as was to be expected, could not wait to start. Note that in the case of Nannienus the verbal forms belong to the activum, whereas Mallobaudes was carried away (*raptatus*) and driven (*agebatur*).

*proinde horrifico adversum fragore terrente, ubi primum apud Argentariam signo per cornicines dato concurrere est coeptum, sagittarum verrutorumque missilium pulsibus crebriores hinc indeque sternebantur* 10.8 The reader would have appreciated an explanation for the fact that Mallobaudes' strategy was chosen. See for *proinde* "accordingly" (OLD s.v. 3) ad 24.6.4 (p. 177) and 26.1.2 (p. 15); for adverbial *adversum* ('on the opposite side') Kühner-Stegmann 1.576. *Fragor* is used frequently in the *Res Gestae* to designate the clamour of battle; see the note ad 29.2.21 (pp. 105–106). When the Roman generals heard the barbarian battle cry (cf. *barbari...clamoribus stridebant inconditis*, 31.7.11, p. 135), the signal to attack was given by the Roman horn blowers. For musical instruments in the army see ad 31.6.2 (p. 110). The word *cornicen* occurs only here in the *Res Gestae*. Cf. for the inf. praes. pass. *concurrere* Caes. *Gal.* 2.20.1 *cum ad arma concurrere oporteret*. See for *verutum* denoting a short spear ad 27.10.15 (p. 248); the noun *pulsus* means 'impact'. Amm. has a liking for the combination *hinc inde* 'on (or 'from') both sides'; see ad 20.6.5 (p. 142).

Argentaria, or Argentovaria, cannot be located exactly, but should be looked for in the region near Colmar in the Alsace. The prevailing view is that it was at the site of the modern village of Horbourg, but Biesheim and Kunheim are also mentioned; Talbert 11 H4; Lorenz, 1997, 170–171 (n. 712 has many references to literature); Nuber and Reddé, 2002, 212–218; Drinkwater, 2007, 312. Originally it was a *castrum*, which is also mentioned in Ptol. 2.9.9 ('Ἀργεντοούρια). It is called *Argentovaria* in *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 354.3 and *Tab. Peut.* II 4; *Argentaria* in *epit.* 47.2, *Hier. Chron.* a. 377 and *Oros. hist.* 7.33.8. The battle took place sometime in the first half of June.

*sed in ipso proeliorum ardore infinita hostium multitudine milites visa vitan- 10.9 tesque aperta discrimina per calles consitas arboribus et angustas, ut quisque potuit, dispersi paulo postea stetere fidentius et splendore conspicui proculque nitore fulgentes armorum imperatorii adventus iniecerunt barbaris metum* The numerical superiority of the enemy has gradually become a refrain in Amm.'s narrative. Seeing that the Lentienses outnumbered them, the Ro-

man soldiers initially did not fight in their usual way, i.e. in closed formation, but dispersed, thereby avoiding the risks of the open fields (*aperta discrimina*). Later the Romans regrouped and regained self-confidence; see for *fidentius* ad 20.8.19 (p. 215).

*Conspicui* is a conjecture by Petschenig, 1892, 691, based on 30.3.5 *signorum fulgentium nitore conspicuus*. Rolfe preferred Accursius' *consimili*, and explained it as a forward reference to 31.10.14 *arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine*. However, *consimilis* can only refer to something mentioned earlier, not to something mentioned later. Charles, 2008, 232 correctly states that the barbarians mistook the Roman troops for elite army units under Gratian's immediate command because of their glittering armour. For the intimidation created in this way cf. 28.5.3 (p. 235). For *calles* see ad 20.7.10 (p. 167).

- 10.10** *qui repente versi in terga resistentesque interdum, ne quid ultimae rationis omitterent, ita sunt caesi, ut ex praedicto numero non plus quam quinque milia, ut aestimabatur, evaderent densitate nemorum tecta inter complures alios audaces et fortes rege Priario interfecto, exitialium concitore pugnatum*  
The expression *vertere in terga* is a contamination of *terga vertere* and *vertere in fugam*. Remarkably, the present text and 29.5.15 (p. 172) are the only instances of *ultima ratio* in extant Latin literature.

If Amm. can be believed, the number of Lentienses that were killed was immense, 35,000 men if they started out with 40,000 men (see §5 above). Among them was their king Priarius (*PLRE* I, Priarius), who is only mentioned in this passage. Drinkwater, 2007, 314 contests that Priarius was the instigator of the invasion and regards him only as “a local leader swept up by the tide”. Other sources mention 30,000 dead: Hier. *Chron.* a. 377 *Alamannorum XXX circiter milia apud Argentariam oppidum Galliarum ab exercitu Gratiani strata; epit.* 47.2 *Hic apud Argentariam oppidum Galliae triginta Alamannorum milia in bello exstinxit.*

- 10.11–18** Since Gratian was still in Trier on 1 June (*Cod. Theod.* 1.15.9), he cannot have travelled far when he heard of the victory Mallobaudes and Nannienus had won over the Lentienses. Gratian may have taken the route to Metz and from there to Strasbourg; from Strasbourg he must have continued in southern direction along the Rhine to Augst, from where he kept following the Rhine in eastern direction. He may have heard about the successes against the Lentienses before he reached Lake Constance. The news made him decide to cross the river which was on his left-hand side (*laevorsus*) and to campaign against the Lentienses himself. According to Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 484

Gratian “a sans doute franchi le Rhin du côté de Zurzach”; this is indeed possible. Cf. also Colombo’s “quasi sicuramente a Tasgaetium/Burg bei Stein am Rhein” (2007a, 210). Lorenz, 1997, 172 is less certain: “In Frage kommen Kaiseraugst, Zurzach, Burg/Eschenz oder Basel”. The distance from Trier to Zurzach (ancient Tenedo) according to the route just described is 187 Roman miles = 277 km; that to Kaiseraugst is 157 miles = 232 km (www.omnesviae.org). This distance can be covered by a fast-moving army within 8–10 days (c. 30 km per day). If Gratian indeed left Trier shortly after 1 June, he will have heard about the victory of Nannienus and Mallobaudes by mid-June.

In spite of Amm.’s elaborate description from which one might well get the impression that the Lentiensian campaign took quite some time, the expedition may have taken only two weeks: from the middle of June to the end of June. At the end of June or the beginning of July Gratian may have resumed his journey to Thrace; see ad 31.11.6 (p. 192). Why Gratian decided to pursue the Lentienses when they were already utterly defeated by his generals remains in the dark. Possibly the young emperor—he was only nineteen—saw an opportunity to enhance his status as military commander with a quick and easy victory. Seeck, 1920–1923<sup>2–4</sup>, vol. 5, 112 is very critical about this action “eines unreifen Jünglings” and writes: “Dies törichte Unternehmen, das nie zum Ziele führen konnte, raubte dem jungen Kaiser viel kostbare Zeit.” Drinkwater, 2007, 314 agrees and considers the campaign as “ill-timed, unnecessary and basically unsuccessful in that Gratian won no great victory in the field. And in the long term it seriously damaged the Empire by contributing to defeat at Adrianople.” Lenski, 2002, 365–366 is also critical about Gratian’s military endeavours against the Lentienses, as is Wanke, 1990, 176–177.

*Hac laeti successus fiducia Gratianus erectus iamque ad partes tendens eoas laevorsus flexo itinere latenter Rheno transito spe incitator bona universam, si id temptanti fors affuisset, delere statuit malefidam et turbarum avidam gentem* The word *Hac* refers to the “successful” (OLD s.v. *laetus* 5) outcome of the battle of Argentaria, described in the preceding sections: ‘confidence based on this successful outcome’. The assimilation of the pronoun *hac* to the abl. *fiducia* may be compared to the figure of enallage, for which see Blomgren 146–147. Similar instances with pronouns are discussed at 30.4.2 (p. 62) and 31.4.13 (p. 78). For *laevorsus* see ad 18.6.15 (p. 189). The adverb *latenter* is extremely rare in classical texts, but common in Apuleius and Amm.; see ad 25.8.1 (p. 253). For *incitatus* “i.q. excitatus, irritatus, incensus sim.” see TLL VII 1.933.18. Amm. had mentioned the troublesome nature of

10.11



the Lentienses in 15.4.1: *Lentiensibus...collimitia saepe Romana latius irrum-pentibus*.

- 10.12 *hocque urgentibus aliis super alios nuntiis cognito Lentienses aerumnis populi sui ad interneccionem paene deleti et repentino principis adventu defixi, quid capesserent, ambigentes, cum neque repugnandi neque agendi aliquid aut moliendi laxamentum possent invenire vel breve* See for the cumulative phrase *aliis super alios* the note ad 29.2.1 (p. 75). More than twenty instances can be found in Livy. There was no *laxamentum*, “respite” (OLD s.v. 2), to act or to organize. From the repeated warnings of messengers the Lentienses could only conclude that their situation was hopeless. Having lost a huge number of men, they were also petrified (*defixi* is a Vergilianism, for which see ad 25.2.4, p. 47) by the sudden arrival of the emperor and unable to decide what to do. For *princeps* (and *principatus*) see ad 31.1.2 (p. 4).

*impetu celeri obsessos petiverunt inviis cautibus colles abruptisque per ambitum rupibus insistentes rebus caritatibusque suis, quas secum conduxerant, omni virium robore propugnabant* The Lentienses fled to a “chain of defensive hill-sites”; Drinkwater, 2007, 314. Where exactly these hills were located is not revealed. Angliviél de la Beaumelle n. 485 suggests the range of hills of Randen in modern Baden-Württemberg close to the Swiss canton of Schaffhausen; Colombo, 2007a, 211 is less specific and mentions the south-western hills of the Schwäbische Alb. Withdrawal into mountains is a normal stratagem of barbarian tribes. The Thervingi fled to the *montes Serro-rum* (27.5.3); the Alamanni withdrew to a *mons praecelsus* (27.10.9); and the Quadi saw the Romans coming *ex diruptis montibus* where they had hidden (30.5.13). For *inviis cautibus* cf. Plin. *Nat.* 37.27 *in cautibus Alpium...inviis* and for *per ambitum* ‘on all sides’ see TLL I 1859.46–49. Amm. often uses the abstractum pro concreto *caritates* ‘loved ones’; see ad 20.4.10 (p. 76). Walter, 1920, 715 has the attractive suggestion to read *quas secum adduxerant*, comparing Cic. *Fam.* 16.21.5 *convictoribus, quos secum...adduxit* and 21.9.4 *praefectum secum abduxit*. There are no parallels for *secum conducere*.

- 10.13 *qua difficultate perpensa velut murorum obicibus opponendi per legiones singulas quingenteni leguntur armati usu prudenter bellandi comperti* The unexpected action posed a problem which had to be carefully considered; cf. 20.9.3 *diu perpensis consiliis* (p. 224). It implied that Roman soldiers had, so to speak, to fight against the walls of a town. The gerundive *opponendi*

represents, as is often the case, a future passive participle expressing intention (in this case of the main verb *leguntur*); see ad 20.2.4. (p. 18) and 26.9.5 (p. 250). The task was entrusted to experienced men, five hundred from each legion. For *compertus* = *spectatus* see ad 24.4.30 (p. 144).

We are not told with how many legions Gratian had left Trier. Possibly he combined his army with the forces of Mallobaudes and Nannienus that had crushed the Lentienses at Argentaria. For the size of a late-antique legion see ad 31.7.2 (p. 122). All in all the task force will have consisted of several thousand soldiers.

*qui ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod versari inter antesignanos visebatur acriter princeps, montes scandere nitebantur tamquam venaticias praedas, si calcassent editiora, confestim sine certamine ullo rapturi; exorsumque proelium vergente in meridiem die tenebrae quoque occupavere nocturnae* The picked soldiers were encouraged by the energetic (*acriter*) presence of the emperor in the front line. The fact that Amm. mentions this is a clear sign of his esteem for Gratian. In his eulogy of Julian he had mentioned as one his virtues that he fought together with his soldiers in the first line, thereby giving them confidence: *augebat fiduciam militis dimicans inter primos* (25.4.10). As to *murorum obicibus*, cf. 21.12.13 *alii ferratas portarum obices effringendas adorti* (p. 167). See also OLD s.v. *obex*: “anything which blocks an entrance”. Note that *proelium* is the direct object of *occupavere* (cf. Cic. *Ver.* 3.177 *in illa caligine ac tenebris quae totam rem publicam tum occupant*) and that *quoque* here means “even” (OLD s.v. 4), as in *rege quoque Priario interfecto* (§ 10).

*quippe magno utriusque partis pugnabatur exitio. caedebant cadebantque nostrorum non pauci, simul arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine iaculatione ponderum densa confringebantur* The wordplay *caedebant cadebantque* is more than a “sinnlose Doppelschreibung”, as Petschenig, 1893, 117 thought. It may have been inspired by Cic. *Phil.* 14.38 about the *legio Martia*, which fought against a larger number of opponents in such a manner *ut plurimos caederent, caderent nonnulli*. Cf. also Fro. *Parth.* 8 *populum Romanum non minus cadendo quam caedendo imperium peperisse*. On *comitatus* denoting the emperor’s escort see ad 20.4.11 (pp. 76–77) and 26.5.7 (p. 109). Apparently, the shining armour of the imperial guards (for which cf. § 9), made them an easy target for the missiles of the Lentienses. Note that *colorum* is a gen. inversus, which has to be combined with *claritudine*. The noun *pondera* must refer to boulders hurled down by the Lentienses at the Roman soldiers; cf. 14.2.6 (*nostri*) *fortiter dimi-*

10.14

*cantes ruinis ponderum immanium consternuntur*, 31.15.13 *namque semineces aliqui aut magnis obtriti ponderibus vel confixi iaculis pectora voluebantur*. For *iaculatio* of stones cf. Apul. Met. 1.10 (ut) *in eam...saxorum iaculatione vindicaretur*. The only other instance of the verb *confringere* ('to destroy') in the *Res Gestae* is in 26.8.10.

- 10.15 *Et inde diu reputante Gratiano cum optimatibus perniciosum apparebat et irritum contra asperitates aggerum prominentium intempestiva contendere pertinacia, multis ut in tali negotio variatis sententiis otioso milite circumvallari placuit barbaros inedia fatigatos, quia locorum iniquitate defenderentur* A long discussion between Gratian and his staff (presumably including Nannienus and Mallobaudes) led to the conclusion that it was dangerous and ineffectual to fight with a for that moment inappropriate determination against rough and high mountains. For *multis...variatis sententiis...placuit* 'after many different proposals had been put forward, it was decided' cf. 16.2.9 *post variatas itaque sententias plures cum placuisset* (p. 21) and OLD s.v. *vario* 4b. Since the Lentienses were protected by the inaccessible mountains, it seemed better to starve them out by surrounding them with soldiers, who would not have to fight (*otiosis*). The use of the word *circumvallare* (for which see ad 24.2.9, p. 49), indicates that the Romans began to construct walls and barriers to encircle the Lentienses. A similar strategy was applied against the Goths, when the Romans blockaded the passes of the Haemus mountain after the battle near the town of Salices; 31.8.1 (p. 142).
- 10.16 *verum cum obstinatione simili renitentes Germani peritique regionum petissent alios montes his, quos ante insiderant, altiores, conversus illuc cum exercitu imperator eadem qua antea fortitudine semitas ducentes ad ardua quaeritabat* The Lentienses did not give up (*cum obstinatione simili*), but headed to higher mountains. With the same courage as before (a reference to §13 *versari inter antesignanos visebatur acriter princeps*) the emperor kept looking for paths leading to the heights. Note that, according to the author, the German enemies acted with obstinacy, Gratian with courage.
- 10.17 *quem Lentienses intentum iugulis suis omni perseverandi studio contemplan-tes post deditionem, quam impetravere supplici prece, oblata, ut praeceptum est, iuventute valida nostris tirociniis permiscenda ad genitales terras innoxii ire permissi sunt* The Lentienses concluded that Gratian (*quem*) persevered (*omni perseverandi studio*) in his determination to cut their throats. For *iugulum* as the most vulnerable part of the body cf. 29.6.12 (Quadi) *hacque ex causa iugulo eius (Equitii) intenti* and Cic. Pis. 5 *ego tela...intenta iugulis*

*civitatis de coniuratorum nefariis manibus extorsi*; TLL VII 2.638.33–52. The capitulation was accepted on condition that the young and strong soldiers were incorporated in ‘our’ battalions of recruits, a usual proviso in treaties between Rome and barbarians; Matthews 316. The Saxons also had to supply young men according to the truce with Valentinian: *pactis indutiis et datis ex condicione proposita iuvenibus multis habilibus ad militiam* (28.5.4, p. 236). The other Lentienses received permission to return unpunished to their native lands. For the personal passive of *permittere* see ad 20.2.4 (p. 29).

*Hanc victoriam opportunam et fructuosam, quae gentes hebetavit ociduas, sempiterni numinis nutu Gratianus incredibile dictu est, quo quantoque vi-* 10.18  
*gore, exserta celeritate aliorum properans expedit* The complicated structure of the sentence starts with mentioning victory, concludes with young Gratian’s achievement (*expedit*), whilst the Deity is the decisive link in the middle. Note that *victoriam* is the direct object of *expedit* (‘he achieved’). According to the will of the eternal God Gratian’s victory had come at the right time, proving to be advantageous: the barbarians in the West were stunned. See for the religious formula *sempiterni numinis nutu* ad 23.5.19 (pp. 120–121); Rike, 1987, 31–34; Davies, 2004, 265–268. The victory prompted Ausonius to write (possum) *vocare Germanicum deditione gentilium, Alamannicum traductione captorum* (*Grat. act.* 2.8). Gratian adopted the title *Alamannicus* after his success against the Lentienses; *ILS* 771. Indeed, after Gratian’s campaign no other military expeditions into Alamannic territory are recorded. This does not mean that the Alamannic problem was solved; Socr. *HE* 5.6.2, Soz. *HE* 7.2.1 and 7.4.1, and Zos. 4.24.4 record that Alamanni crossed the Rhine and troubled Gaul after the battle at Adrianople; see Paschoud n. 151, Drinkwater, 2007, 315–319 and Colombo, 2007a, 214–216.

From a human point of view Gratian had performed unbelievably well, the more so since originally he had had a different strategic aim. The words *exserta celeritate aliorum properans* (‘marching at top speed in another direction’, tr. Hamilton) indicate that Gratian went eastward as fast as possible. For *exsertus* see ad 23.4.9 (p. 72). Lenski, 2002, 366, who thinks that *celeritas* refers to Gratian’s dealing with the Lentienses, detects ‘a note of irony’ on the part of Ammianus.

*praeclarae indolis adolescens, facundus et moderatus et bellicosus et clemens, ad aemulationem lectorum progrediens principum, dum etiamtum lanugo genis inserperet speciosa* At his point Amm. inserts a miniature eulogy of the character of the brilliant teenager (*praeclarae indolis adolescens*), who earned high marks in rhetoric (*facundus*), self-control (*moderatus*), warfare

(*bellicosus*) and finally in the virtue of clemency, which was obligatory for emperors; see ad 21.12.20 (p. 179). As a youth Gratian made further progress by imitating the outstanding emperors in Rome's history. See OLD s.v. *progredi* 3: "to advance towards a new or more perfect state" and for *lectus* ad 25.6.6 (p. 207). Unfortunately, there was a fly in the ointment. Amm. pointedly adds that Gratian exhibited these qualities when his face as yet showed only the first signs of the growth of a beard (*lanugo*). As was already intimated at his nomination as Augustus in 27.6.15 (pp. 155–158), as he grew older he developed less desirable characteristics: *egregia pectoris indoles; quae imperatorem implesset cum veterum lectissimis comparandum, si per fata proximosque licuisset, qui virtutem eius etiamtum instabilem obnubilarent actibus pravis*.

*ni vergens in ludibriosos actus natura laxantibus proximis semet ad vana studia Caesaris Commodi convertisset licet hic incruentus* Commodus is mentioned five times in the *Res Gestae*; in 21.16.8 he belongs to an unsavoury trio: *Caligulae et Domitiani et Commodi immanitatem*; see also ad 26.6.8 (p. 144). Gratian ought to have preferred better examples, but those who belonged to his inner circle failed to interfere (*laxantibus proximis*). The names of these *proximi* are not revealed; several possibilities have been put forward, such as Maximinus (*PLRE* I, Maximinus 7) and Ambrose; see ad 27.6.15 (pp. 157–158) and McLynn, 1994, 79–137. Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 487 suggests that Gratian's tutor Ausonius ("one of the more intriguing omissions from Ammianus' history", Matthews 273) may have been one of the *proximi* meant by Amm., but that is no more than an educated guess.

As to *incruentus* ('without bloodshed'), Amm. may mean that Gratian was not openly bloodthirsty, like Commodus. The latter slaughtered an excessive number of wild animals for fun in the amphitheatre, as is mentioned in the next section. Gratian only hunted in *vivaria* and did not participate in hunting games in the arena.

Alternatively we may compare 22.14.2 (p. 240) about Julian: *Galli similis fratri licet incruentus*. Both Gallus and Julian tried to fix the corn price, but Gallus killed people in the process (14.7.5), Julian did not. In the present passage both Commodus and Gratian are described as fanatical hunters, but Gratian was a sportsman, Commodus was a murderer: πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ θηρία πολλάκις ἔφθειρε ("he often slew in public large numbers of men and of beasts as well", D.C. 72.10.3, tr. Cary). Commodus was moreover guilty of political and other murders: πλείστοις δὲ ἐφόνευσε καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, τοὺς μὲν φανερώς τοὺς δὲ λάθρᾳ φαρμάκοις ("he killed a great many, both men and women, some openly and some by means

of poison, secretly”, D.C. 72.4.1, tr. Cary); cf. further e.g. D.C. 72.4.5–6, 5.1, 5.3, 7.3, 14.1, HA C 18.4 *carnifex senatus*, *parricida senatus*, 18.5 *qui senatum occidit...qui innocentes occidit*. Therefore Commodus could justifiably be called *cruentus* (HA MA 27.12 *Commodus turpem se et cruentum ostentabat*). In the case of Gratian this is impossible. He was *incruentus*, like Julian and Procopius (26.9.11, p. 262).

*ut enim ille, quia perimere iaculis plurimas feras spectante consueverat populo et centum leones in amphitheatrali circulo simul emissos telorum vario genere nullo geminato vulnere contruncavit, ultra hominem exsultavit* With enim Amm. appeals to the reader’s consensus. In 26.3.2 (p. 66) Seyfarth prints in *amphitheatrali curriculo*, which should be emended to—*circulo*. For the very rare verb *contruncare* see TLL 789.53–61. Plautus may have provided the model: *Bac.* 974–975 *Quadringentos filios habet...eos ego hodie omnis contruncabo duobus solis ictibus*. For *ultra hominem* see ad 27.12.11 (p. 284) about *ultra* denoting excess. Kelly 232–234 discusses this passage as part of his proof that Amm. knew and used Herodian, quoting in support Hdn. 1.15.6 (Commodus) λεόντων δέ ποτε ἐξ ὑπογαίων ἑκατὸν <ἄμα> ἀφρεθέντων ἰσαριθμοῖς ἀκοντίοις πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. Cf. also HA C 8.5 (*erat enim haec illi consuetudo, ut domi bestias interficeret*), 12.12 (*ferarum autem diversarum manu sua occidit, ita ut elephantos occideret, multa milia. et haec fecit spectante saepe populo Romano*); Hekster, 2002, 146–162. 10.19

*ita hic quoque intra saepta, quae appellant vivaria, sagittarum pulsibus crebris dentatas conficiens bestias incidentia multa parvi ducebat et seria* Apart from Herodian Amm. consulted Gellius, from whom he borrowed the note on *vivaria*: 2.20.1 *‘Vivaria, quae nunc dicuntur, saepta quaedam loca*. In these enclosures or parks which were part of imperial domains, comparable to the Persian παράδεισοι, wild beasts were kept; Lafaye, 1919; Müller, 2002, 553. In 24.5.2 (pp. 150–152) Amm. gives a description of such a hunting ground close to a (Persian) palace; add to the literature cited there Berger, 2002 and Mortillez, 2014.

Ausonius, *Grat. act.* 14.64, praises Gratian for his enthusiasm for sports and his ability as an archer: In *exercendo corpore quis cursum tam perniciter incitavit? Quis palaestram tam lubricus expedivit? Quis saltum in tam sublimem collegit? nemo adductius iacula contorsit, nemo spicula crebrius iecit aut certius destinata percussit* (“In athletic pursuits who ever matched your fleetness of foot, who so supple in disengaging at wrestling, who cleared so great a height in leaping? No one ever launched a javelin with a more forceful swing, no one hurled darts with greater speed or struck the mark more

surely", tr. Evelyn White). Cf. also *epit.* 47.4 *nihil aliud die noctuque agere quam spiculis meditari summaeque voluptatis divinaeque artis credere ferire destinata* ("both night and day he did nothing but practice archery, and he thought that to hit the mark was a thing of supreme pleasure and divine skill", tr. Banchich). For *dentatus* cf. 19.6.4 *dentatae in caveis bestiae*. For *incidentia* 'matters of state presenting themselves' cf. 21.2.3 about Julian: *animo tranquillo et quieto incidentia cuncta disponens* and see TLL VII 1. 905.9–13. There is a list of such participles ad 31.3.2 *impendentium* (p. 41).

*eo tempore, quo etiam si imperium Marcus regeret Antoninus, aegre sine collegis similibus et magna sobrietate consiliorum lenire luctuosos rei publicae poterat casus* For Marcus (Aurelius) Antoninus, who is mentioned a dozen times in the *Res Gestae*, see ad 31.5.13 (pp. 99–100). According to Amm. the Roman Empire was in such dire straits during Gratian's time that even an emperor like Marcus would have had difficulty to remedy the deplorable state of the empire without like-minded co-emperors and prudent advisers. So what could be expected from an inexperienced young man whose advisers neglected their duty (*laxantibus proximis* § 18)?

- 10.20 *Dispositis igitur, quae pro temporum captu per Gallias res rationesque poscebant, et punito scutario proditore, qui festinare principem ad Illyricum barbaris indicarat* The measures with regard to the situation in Gaul presumably included a settlement with the Lentienses after their defeat, and the protection of the province against possible barbarian invasions, while Gratian was away. The Lentiensian informer is here called *scutarius*, while in § 3 he was called an *armiger* but the two designations are not contradictory: the informer must have belonged to one of the *scholae palatinae* (either the *schola Scutariorum prima*, or the *schola Scutariorum secunda*, cf. ad 24.5.6, p. 160), the imperial bodyguard founded by Constantine; see ad 20.2.5 (p. 21), 22.11.2 (p. 200) and 25.10.9 (p. 327). For Illyricum see ad § 5 above.

*Gratianus exinde digressus per castra, quibus Felicis Arboris nomen est, per Lauriacum ad opitulandum oppressae parti porrectis itineribus ire tendebat* The military settlement of *Felix Arbor* or *Arbor Felix* in Raetia, modern Arbon (Switzerland), was located on the southern shore of Lake Constance about 30 km west of Brigantium (Bregenz); Talbert 19 B2; Brem et al., 1992. It was part of the Rhine-Ille-Danube frontier and is also mentioned in *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 237.5, 251.3 and *Tab. Peut.* III 5. In the time the *Notitia Dignitatum* was written, the *cohors Herculea Pannoniorum* under a *tribunus* was stationed there (*Occ.* 35.34). For Lauriacum see Dietz, 1999 and Ubl, 2005;

it was a settlement and legionary camp in Noricum (modern Enns-Lorch in Upper Austria) at the confluence of the Danube and the Enns; Talbert 12 H4. It is mentioned in *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 277.3 as the final destination of the route from Aquileia over the Alps. *Tab. Peut.* III 4 calls it Blaboriciaco. *Not. Dign. Occ.* 34.39 mentions Lauriacum as the station for the *praefectus legionis secundae Italicae* and 34.43 as that for the *praefectus classis Lauriacensis*. It is not certain which route Gratian took, but the shortest distance between Felix Arbor and Lauriacum was 350 Roman miles, i.e. 518 km ([www.omnesviae.org](http://www.omnesviae.org)); cf. Falk Routenplaner: 505 km. To cover this distance must have taken Gratian and his soldiers some seventeen days. Assuming that they were in a hurry and made long marches (*porrectis intineribus*) they may have covered at least about 30 km per day; see ad 30.5.1 (p. 103) for the distance a marching army could cover per day. If indeed, as is suggested ad 31.10.11 (p. 169), Gratian's expedition against the Lentienses covered the second half of June, they left Felix Arbor by the end of June/beginning of July and arrived in Lauriacum by mid-July. Since there was a fleet stationed at Lauriacum, Gratian and his light-armed troops (31.11.6) probably embarked here in military rowing boats and sailed down the Danube to disembark afterwards at Bononia (modern Banostor) as mentioned in 31.11.6 (p. 192). The boats may have been of the same type as the *lembi* Julian used when he sailed down the Danube in 361; 21.9.2 *cumque ad locum venisset unde navigari posse didicit flumen, lembis escensis* (with note ad p. 115); these boats probably also had a sail. Like Julian had done, he may have divided his troops, going downriver with light-armed troops while the rest of the troops travelled by land; Zos. 3.10.2–3 'Ελθὼν δὲ εἰς 'Ραιτούς...πλοῖα ποτάμια κατασκευάσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἅμα τρισχιλίοις εἰς τὸ πρόσω διὰ τοῦ 'Ιστρου παρήγε, δισφυρίου δὲ πεζῇ τὸ Σίρμιον καταλαμβάνειν διέταττεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν συνεχῆς εἰρεσία μετὰ τῆς τοῦ ῥοῦ φορᾶς καὶ τῶν ἐτῆσιων ἀνέμων αὐτῷ συντελεσάντων, ἐνδεκάτῃ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τὸ Σίρμιον ἦλθε ('On arriving in Raetia...he [Julian] built river boats; he continued himself down the Danube accompanied by 3,000 men, and ordered the other 20,000 to make for Sirmium by foot. Thanks to the unremitting efforts of the rowers in combination with the current and the Etesian winds, he reached the environs of Sirmium on the eleventh day'); see also the note ad 21.9.2 (p. 115). By river the distance between Lauriacum (Enns-Lorch) and Bononia (Banostor) is 835 km according to the Danube Commission ([http://www.danubecommission.org/uploads/doc/publication/KM\\_ANZEIGER/ACROBAT/106-181-Oesterr%20A4.pdf](http://www.danubecommission.org/uploads/doc/publication/KM_ANZEIGER/ACROBAT/106-181-Oesterr%20A4.pdf); [http://www.danubecommission.org/uploads/doc/publication/KM\\_ANZEIGER/ACROBAT/242-269-YU-a4.pdf](http://www.danubecommission.org/uploads/doc/publication/KM_ANZEIGER/ACROBAT/242-269-YU-a4.pdf)) and Google Maps (measure distance). In the fourth century the distance was probably somewhat longer;



cf. Himmler, Konen and Löffel, 2009, 105 n. 9: “Auf der damals unregulierten Donau war die Distanz sicher noch höher”. By ship, going downstream, Gratian could have made this journey in seven days, since per day a distance of some 120km could be covered in military rowing boats; Scheidel, 2013, 12 n. 24. The emperor and his soldiers could then have reached Bononia c. 22 July.

- 10.21** *Isdemque diebus Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti munireque properanti Succorum angustias ne discursatores hostes et leves tamquam exaestuare sueti torrentes per septemtrionales provincias fusius vagarentur, successor Maurus nomine mittitur comes, venalis ferociae specie et ad cuncta mobilis et incertus* For Frigeridus see ad 31.7.3 (p. 124). Amm. is picking up the thread of his narrative about Frigeridus' military actions against the Goths as related in 31.9.1–4. In order to prevent the Goths from moving westward to the northern provinces of the empire, he fortified and blocked the Succi pass which was just east of Serdica (Sofia) on the road between Serdica and Philippopolis (Plovdiv). Amm. has a digression on this pass in 21.10.3–4 (pp. 132–136); see also Feraco, 2011, 147–156. Unlike *obtrectatores...malivoli* (31.7.5), Amm. considers Frigeridus a very capable general, as *multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti* and *dux cautus et diligens* in the next section make clear. *Sollertissimus* is also used to characterize Julian: 17.2.3 *sollertissimus Caesar*, 24.7.2 *princeps sollertissimus* (p. 205). This is the second time Amm. refers to Maurus (*PLRE* I, Maurus 2). The first time was in 20.4.18: *Maurus nomine quidam, postea comes, qui rem male gessit apud Succorum angustias, Petulantium tunc hastatus* (pp. 96–98). Amm. does not hide his dislike for this man, as is evident from *venalis ferociae specie et ad cuncta mobilis et incertus*. He is not to be identified with the Maurus (*PLRE* I, Maurus 1) mentioned in 25.1.2 (p. 6). Maurus succeeded Frigeridus as *comes rei militaris*—for his function see the note ad 20.4.18 (pp. 97–98). Frigeridus may have been substituted because he was already an older man; moreover, he seems to have suffered from health problems as can be surmised from 31.7.5. As successor of Frigeridus Maurus handled the guarding of the Succi pass badly, as appears from Amm.'s rather vague phrase *rem male gessit* in 20.4.18 (Rolfe's “defeated” is too specific). Probably shortly after the Roman defeat at Adrianople the Goths took control of the pass; Heather, 1991, 150–151; Woods, 1998, 325–326 with n. 7.

*is est, quem praeteritorum textu rettulimus ambigenti super corona capiti imponenda Iuliano Caesari, dum inter eius armigeros militaret, arroganti astu*

*fidenter torquem obtulisse collo abstractam* Amm. refers to the episode of Julian's elevation to Augustus in Paris in 360 as related in 20.4.18. On this occasion, because a proper crown or diadem was not available, Julian was crowned by Maurus with the latter's *torques*: *Maurus...abstractum sibi torquem...capiti Iuliani imposuit confidenter* (pp. 98–100). In the section under discussion Maurus is called *armiger*, bodyguard of the emperor, while in 20.4.18 Amm. describes him as a *Petulantium...hastatus* and *draconarius* (p. 97). For *corona*, as a sign of emperorship, see also 26.2.3 *principali habitu circumdatus et corona* (p. 43) and 27.6.11 *corona indumentisque supremae fortunae ornatum* (p. 148). The *torques* was a military decoration; see ad 20.4.18 (pp. 98–99); Speidel, 1996; Coulston, 2015. At Julian's pronunciamiento it served as a *vilis corona* (21.1.4, p. 8), as it did in the case of Firmus' usurpation of imperial power (29.5.20, pp. 180–181). As is noted ad 21.7.4 (p. 100), the t.t. *discursator* occurs only in Amm. As to *collo*: this denotes Maurus' neck.

*remotusque in ipsa vertigine pereuntium rerum dux cautus et diligens, cum, etiam si dudum discessisset in otium, ad procinctum reduci negotiorum magnitudine poscente deberet* The word *dux* denotes of course Frigeridus, who should have remained in command because of the dire situation of the empire. Cf. 18.6.1 about Ursicinus: *etiam, si apud Thylen moraretur Ursicinus, acciri eum magnitudo rerum...flagitabat*. At the request of Valens Frigeridus had been called back from his *otium* by Gratian to assist with the situation in Thrace: *Frigeridum ducem...quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire disposuit in procinctum* (31.7.3, p. 124). See for cases in which a retired commander was recalled into active service 26.5.3 *Serenianus olim sacramento digressus recinctus est* and 31.12.1 *et honoratiores alii et Traianus recinctus est*. The noun *vertigo* denotes a “whirling movement” (OLD s.v.), both in a literal and, as here, in a figurative sense: *vertigine rerum attoniti* (Luc. 8.16–17).



## CHAPTER 11

### *Introduction*

In this chapter Valens finally leaves his residence in Antioch in order to deal with the Goths who are ravaging the diocese of Thrace. The reasons why it had taken Valens so long to leave Syria (the conflict with Persia over Armenia, a revolt of the Saracens, unrest in Isauria) are not mentioned by Ammianus, who from this moment onwards concentrates exclusively on the Goths. The people of Constantinople gave Valens a hostile reception, which Ammianus only touches on. The emperor replaced the *magister peditum* Traianus with Sebastianus, who had come over from the western part of the empire. Ammianus tells his readers far less about this general than do other historians such as Eunapius and Zosimus, who praise him to the skies. After his departure from Constantinople the emperor travelled to the villa Melantias and from there to the *statio* Nice. A band of Goths, who were roaming the countryside near Adrianople loaded with booty, rapidly retreated in the direction of Beroea and Nicopolis to join the Gothic army which had pitched camp there. Valens sent Sebastianus in pursuit of them with two thousand crack troops (§1–2).

After initially refusing Sebastianus and his troops permission to enter their gates—a clear sign of the tenseness of the situation—the citizens of Adrianople provided them with food and rest. The next day, in a surprise attack, Sebastianus annihilated the Goths and retrieved what had been looted. This military achievement is reminiscent of Iovinus' victory over the Alamanni as reported in 27.2.2–3, and may be seen as an example of how the war against the Goths should be conducted according to our historian. Alarmed by this setback Fritigern decided to regroup the scattered Gothic groups further to the north in the open spaces near the city of Cabyle (§3–5).

In the last section Ammianus describes how Gratian, after his victory over the Lentienses, travelled eastward along the Danube to Sirmium and from there to Castra Martis in Dacia Ripensis (§6).

*His forte diebus Valens tandem excitus Antiochia longitudine viarum emensa venit Constantinopolim* For *forte* see ad 31.8.4 (p. 145). Amm. uses *exci(e)re* frequently and in different shades of meaning: 1. 'to wake up', as in 25.2.4 *adulta iam excitus nocte* (also from the dead, 26.6.15 *excitum putares ab* 11.1

*inferis*); 2. ‘to stir into action’, as in the present passage; 3. ‘to rouse’, as in 15.7.3 *plebs excita calore, quo consuevit* (“excited with their usual passion”, tr. Rolfe); 4. ‘to turn up’, as in 31.7.12 *e propinquo latere fortiter excitus* (“bravely hastened to their aid from nearby”, tr. Rolfe). *Viarum* is a gen. inversus, for which see ad 20.6.7 (p. 146) and 22.4.5 (p. 43); the distance between Antioch and Constantinople is 1130 km. For the passive meaning of *emensus* see ad 22.13.3 (p. 233).

Since Valens arrived in Constantinople on 30 May (*Consul. Constant. a. 378 ingressus est Valens Aug. ab oriente Constantinopolim die III kal. Iun.*; Socr. *HE* 4.38.1), he presumably left Antioch in the spring of 378 (Barnes 253–254). The emperor had planned to leave Antioch already in 377, as is apparent from 31.7.1 (p. 121; cf. Socr. *HE* 4.36.1). It is only from other sources that we learn about the circumstances that kept Valens from leaving the eastern provinces earlier. He had to come to an agreement with Sapor over Armenia. Then there was a revolt of the Saracens in late 377–early 378, and the Isaurians caused trouble again; for these events see below, ad 31.16.5 (pp. 283–285). Amm.’s ostensibly casual *tandem* betrays his annoyance at the delay with which Valens came to the aid of Thrace; Lenski, 2002, 356 and n. 191.

*ubi moratus paucissimos dies seditioneque popularium levi pulsatus* The *populares* are the common people of Constantinople, as opposed to the senate; see ad 22.2.4 (p. 15); cf. 14.10.2 *Hermogenis...apud Constantinopolim...popularium quondam turbela discepti*. Normally *popularis* has the meaning ‘compatriot’. Amm. uses *pulsare* in its primary sense ‘to strike’ in 20.11.21 *pulsabant turrim ariete*. It is found more often in a juridical context as a synonym of *accusare*, as in 29.2.9 *patriciatus columina ipsa pulsavit*. Here it is used in the wider sense of “to importune (a person) with prayers, complaints etc.” (OLD s.v. 7b). See also ad 18.4.4 (ut) *existimationem viri fortis invidia gravi pulsarent* (p. 103), 15.3.5 (p. 43) and 21.6.2 (p. 77).

Valens stayed in Constantinople for twelve days until 11 June; Socr. *HE* 4.38.5 *περὶ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνός*; *Consul. Constant. a. 378 profectus est Valens ex urbe ad fossatum die III id. Iun.*; with *fossatum* (see TLL VI 1.1214.34–42) the villa Melantias mentioned by Amm. later in this section must be meant. The emperor’s departure seems to have been provoked by seditious utterances of the people of Constantinople. Socrates (*HE* 4.38.2–4) presents an elaborate report of their complaints: οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι καταδραμόντες τὴν Θράκην ἤδη καὶ τὰ προάστεια ἐπόρθουν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης ἀξιωμαχοῦ τῆς δυναμείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τεύχεσιν προσπελάζειν ἐπεχείρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, χαλεπῶς ἡ πόλις ἔφερεν τὰ γινόμενα, ἐψιθύριζόν τε κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπαγαγόντος τοὺς πολέμιους, καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀντεπεξῆγεν

εὐθύς, ἀλλὰ παρεῖλκεν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πόλεμον. καὶ δὴ ἵπποδρομίας ἐπιτελουμένης πάντες ἐκ συμφωνίας κατεβόων τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς περιορῶντος τὰ πράγματα· ἔκραζον οὖν συντόνως· “δὸς ὄπλα καὶ πολεμοῦμεν ἡμεῖς” (“for the barbarians, who had already desolated Thrace, were now laying waste the very suburbs of Constantinople, there being no adequate force at hand to resist them. But when they undertook to make near approaches, even to the walls of the city, the people became exceedingly troubled, and began to murmur against the emperor; accusing him of having brought on the enemy thither, and then indolently prolonging the struggle there, instead of at once marching out against the barbarians. Moreover, at the exhibition of the sports of the Hippodrome, all with one voice clamoured against the emperor’s negligence of the public affairs, crying out with great earnestness, ‘Give us arms, and we ourselves will fight!’”; tr. Zenos). See also Soz. *HE* 6.39.2–3. In 31.8.6 Amm. had already pointed out that the Goths had devastated the area around Constantinople (*ad usque...fretum*). It has been suggested (see Wanke, 1990, 179, esp. n. 19) that the dissatisfaction of the people of Constantinople had something to do with Valens’ Arianism. Soz. *HE* 6.40.1 (cf. Thdt. *HE* 4.34.1–3; Zon. 13.16.78) mentions a meeting between Valens and the monk Isaac, who implored the emperor to return the churches to the Nicenes if he himself wished to return victorious. Angered by this affront, Valens ordered the arrest of Isaac and promised to execute him on his return, whereupon the monk predicted Valens’ death; see Lenski, 2004, 107. For other predictions of Valens’ death, see ad 31.1.2 (pp. 2–3). Zos. 4.21.1–3 reports a unique portent about the body of a man lying on the road along which Valens left Antioch. The man had been whipped from head to foot and was motionless except for the eyes. When Valens questioned him, he remained speechless. Suddenly the portent vanished. Interpreters concluded that it prophesied the future condition of the empire: § 3 συνέβαλλον οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξηγεῖσθαι δεινοὶ τὴν ἐσομένην προμηνύειν τῆς πολιτείας κατάστασιν. While the omens and portents in 31.1 predict the defeat at Adrianople and the death of Valens, Zosimus’ portent goes further by prophesying the fall of the empire; Paschoud n. 144. Cf. Weber, 2000, 484–485.

Eunapius and Zosimus do not mention any unrest in the eastern capital. Instead, they state that the emperor ordered some of his cavalry troops to attack the Goths near Constantinople (προκαταπέμπει τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἱππικὸν ὡς ἀντιστῆσον τοῖς βαρβάροις, Eun. *fr.* 42 *in fine*; (Valens) ἔγνω τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐώας σὺν αὐτῷ παραγενομένους καὶ μάχεσθαι μεθ’ ἱππων ἐμπειροτάτους τῇ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἱππῳ πρότερον ἐπιπέμψαι, Zos. 4.22.1). Lenski, 2002, 335 n. 94 rightly rejects the theory of among others Woods, 1996 (followed by Whately, 2014, 222) that Eunapius and Zosimus mistakenly place this event

before rather than after the battle of Adrianople (cf. Woods, 2004, 733). In fact, there were two actions of the Saracens, one before (as Eunapius and Zosimus state), and one after the battle of Adrianople; see on this ad 31.16.5 (pp. 283–285).

*Sebastiano paulo ante ab Italia, ut petierat, misso, vigilantiae notae ductori, pedestris cura commissa, quem regebat antea Traianus* Sebastianus (PLRE I, Sebastianus 2, cf. Demandt, 1970, 706–708) was an experienced soldier (Eun. fr. 44.3), who inter alia had been *dux Aegypti* in 356–358. As *comes rei militaris* he had served under Julian (23.3.5, pp. 42–43; 25.8.7) and assisted Valentinian in his campaign against the Alamanni (27.10.6). In the same function he had fought at the side of Merobaudes against the Quadi in 375 (30.5.13, p. 127). He may have been sent to Italy by Merobaudes after the death of Valentinian because his popularity with the soldiers made him a probable candidate for the succession; 30.10.4 (p. 201). Valens appointed him *magister peditum* as the successor of Traianus (according to Zos. 4.23.1 the command of the whole war in Thrace was given to him: [Valens] αἰρεῖται στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ παντὸς πιστεύει πολέμου) and as such he fought in Thrace against the Goths (cf. 31.11.4, 31.12.1, 31.12.6 and 31.13.18).

Since the finite forms in this long sentence all have Valens as their subject it is highly unlikely that Sebastianus is the subject of *petierat*, as Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 495 and Lenski, 2002, 357 n. 197 suggest (Lenski wrongly interprets *Sebastiano...misso* as an abl. abs.); cf. moreover 31.7.3 *Frigeridum...*, *quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire disposuit in procinctum laturum suppetias*. Whereas Amm. states that Sebastianus was sent to the East at the request of Valens, Eunapius and Zosimus report that he “was replaced in his command” (διεδέχθη τῆς στρατηγίας, Eun. fr. 44.3, tr. Blockley) and left the West to come to Constantinople (καταλιπὼν Σευαστιανὸς τὴν ἐσπεραν...εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν παρεγένετο) “because the emperors there (sc. in the West), owing to their immaturity, were unable to think for themselves and were controlled by the slanders of the eunuch chamberlains” (οἷα τῶν αὐτόθι βασιλέων διὰ νεότητα φρονεῖν ταῦτά πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ἀνεχομένων, ἀλλὰ ἐκδόντων ἑαυτοὺς εὐνούχων ἐπὶ τῇ κοιτῶνι τεταγμένων διαβολαῖς, Zos. 4.22.4, tr. Ridley, slightly adapted). Amm. praises only one other commander for his *vigilantia*, viz. Scipio Aemilianus in 17.11.3. He may have had in mind 23.3.5 (Julian ordered Sebastianus and Procopius) *ut intra Tigridem interim agerent vigilanter omnia servaturi*.

For Traianus see above ad 31.7.1 (p. 121). After having been replaced by Sebastianus, according to Thdt. *HE* 4.33.2 because he was defeated by the Goths, Traianus returned into active service some time later as a high-

ranking officer directly under Valens: *quippe etiam veteranos isdem iunxerat plurimos, inter quos et honoratiores alii et Traianus recinctus est, paulo ante magister armorum* (31.12.1, p. 199), but in which function is not known.

*ipse ad Melantiada villam Caesarianam profectus militem stipendio fovebat et alimentis et blanda crebritate sermonum* Apart from Melantias Amm. mentions four (imperial) villas: Bebase (18.7.9), Hucumbra (25.1.4), Pristen-sis (29.6.7) and Murocincta (30.10.4). On villas see ad 29.6.7 (p. 234), where Bebase and Hucumbra are considered to be villages rather than imperial villas. The exact location of Melantias is not known apart from the fact that it was on the *via Egnatia* and that the river Athyras flowed past it (Agath. 5.14.5, *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 138; 230). According to Agathias the distance between Melantias and Constantinople was 140 stades, i.e. 25,9 km (1 stade = 185 meters). The Antonine Itinerary (ed. Cuntz) speaks of 18 miles (230.10) and 19 miles (323.7), i.e. 26,6 km and 28,1 km (1 mile = 1480 meters). The distance Constantinople-Melantias was therefore around 27 km; cf. Wanke, 1990, 44–45 and 180, who is incorrect in saying that the distance was 37 km. Since c. 27 km is a distance that can be covered in a day's march, Valens and his army arrived at Melantias on the same day that they left Constantinople, i.e. 11 June (for the date see above); Wanke, 1990, 180. Agathias and *Suda* M 463 call Melantias a village (Μελαντιάς κώμη τῆς Θράκης). Talbert 52 D2 also has Melantias as a toponym. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* IX 1 refers to Melantias as Melontiana.

As was argued ad 28.6.12 (pp. 274–275) with regard to *stipendium*, *donativa* and *annonae*, the *stipendium* was paid at irregular intervals, which means that Valens probably chose the moment of payment carefully. The 'hint of pernicious hypocrisy', which, as was observed ad 30.3.4 (p. 54), is often present in *blandus* and its derivatives, is not discernible here. With Valens' attitude towards the military we may compare Julian's behaviour towards the troops that were to be sent to the East, as described in 20.4.12–13 (pp. 80–83).

*unde cum itinere edicto per tesseram Nicen venisset, quae statio ita cognominatur, relatione speculatorum didicit refertos opima barbaros praeda a Rhodopeis tractibus prope Hadrianopolim revertisse* For *tessera* 'watchword' see ad 21.5.13 (p. 71), where Vegetius' definition is quoted: *tessera autem dicitur praeceptum ducis, quo vel ad aliquod opus vel ad bellum monetur exercitus* (*mil.* 2.7.5) and cf. 31.7.7 *tessera data gentili* (p. 129). Nice (also mentioned in 31.12.3, pp. 200–201) is obviously a less well-known locality; hence the addition *quae statio ita cognominatur*, in which the apposition *statio* is included

11.2



in the relative clause; see Szantyr 564, who compares Caes. *Gal.* 1.10.1 *non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia*.

The location of Nice is disputed. Apart from Amm. the other sources that mention it are *Itin. Burg.* 569.3 (*mansio Nicae*) and Hilarius, *op. hist. fr.* 8.5 *cum consedisent episcopi mansionis Nicaeae, quae antehac Ustodizo vocabatur, in provincia Thracia*. Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 2, 186, n. 160 and Wolfram, 1988, 124 think it was located some fourteen miles north of Adrianople. Wanke, 1990, 41–43, however, who makes use of older literature, demonstrates that it was in fact south east of Adrianople and identifies it with Ostodizo/Ustodizo in *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 137.4, 230.3, 322.9 and Hilarius *op. hist. fr.* 8.5, or Hostibo on *Tab. Peut.* VII 3. According to *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 137.4 and *Tab. Peut.* VII 3 Ostodizo/Hostibo was at a distance of 18 Roman miles, i.e. c. 26.5 km, from Adrianople. Its modern name is Havsa (in the European part of Turkey). See also Lenski, 2002, 337 n. 103. Presumably, Nice was a military station; for *statio* as military post see ad 26.7.5 (p. 190, where it is suggested that Nice was possibly only a station of the *cursus publicus*) and ad 31.8.5 (p. 146). For *speculatores*, spies or scouts, see ad 31.3.5 (p. 46). For the mountain range of Rhodope see 31.8.6 (p. 147) and for Adrianople ad 31.6.1 (p. 108).

In spite of Angliviel de la Beaumelle's confident statement in n. 498 that the verb *revertisse* is perfectly understandable, it is difficult to map out the movements of the Goths with any precision. *Revertisse* would seem to imply that the Goths had been near Adrianople before. The last information Amm. provided was that the Goths, after the blockade of the mountain passes had been lifted (31.8.6, p. 147), had scattered over the whole of Thrace from the banks of the Danube *ad usque Rhodopen et fretum*. If the Goths had passed by Adrianople on their way to the Bosphorus (*fretum*), that might explain the use of *revertisse*.

*qui motu imperatoris cum abundanti milite cognito popularibus iungere festinant circa Beroeam et Nicopolim agentibus praesidiis fixis* For *motus* in the military sense of 'march', 'advance' cf. 14.2.9 *ut motus sui rumores celeritate nimia praevenirent* and 20.6.9 *ad praesciscendos adversos subitosque motus*. The present sentence is quoted in TLL VII 2.661.44 among the rare instances (almost all of them disputed) of *iungere* in the sense of *se iungere* or *iungi*. However, Günther's addition of *se* is very tempting.

Because of the lack of sources a precise calculation of the numerical strength of Valens' army is not possible. It has been argued that the number of soldiers involved in the battle of Adrianople was either between 15,000 and 20,000 (Austin, 1972, 82; Heather, 1991, 146–147; Nicasic, 1998, 246) or

between 30,000 and 40,000 (Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 444, 448, followed by e.g. Lenski, 2002, 339); see further Brodka, 2009, 266–267: “Insgesamt könnte das römische Heer etwa 24,000–26,000 Mann umfasst haben”. Most of these will have belonged to the army corps with which Valens had entered Thrace. According to Zos. 4.23.2 these troops were neither well trained nor disciplined. He speaks about: τὸ ἐκδεδιγητὸν καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκμελὲς τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ στρατιωτῶν...καὶ ὡς εἰς φυγὴν μόνον εἰσὶ γεγυμνασμένοι καὶ γυναικῶδεις καὶ ἀθλίας εὐχάς (“the indiscipline and complete laxness of the tribunes and the soldiers...and how they were trained only for flight and for effeminate and unworthy prayers”, tr. Ridley, adapted). Amm., however, is of a different opinion: (Valens) *ducebat...multiplices copias nec contemnendas nec segnes*, 31.12.1 (p. 198).

The barbarians near Adrianople apparently became anxious about the presence of Valens and his army, and joined the Goths who were encamped near Beroea and Nicopolis, guarding the Shipka Pass. They were possibly identical with the Goths who had intended to force Frigeridus out of his camp near Beroea. For Beroea and Nicopolis see ad 31.9.1 (p. 154) and 31.5.16 (p. 104) respectively. *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 231.4 correctly states that the distance between Adrianople and Beroea is 87 miles, which is equivalent to c. 128 km, or some six day marches considering that an army en route, including wagons and pack animals, could cover a distance of around 20 km on average per day; without wagons and pack animals the average distance could exceed 30 km (Elton, 1996, 245). According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* VII 2–3, the only available source, the distance between Adrianople and Nicopolis is 155 miles (approximately 229 km); [www.omnesviae.org](http://www.omnesviae.org). This distance corresponds to eleven-twelve days of marching (c. 20 km per day).

According to Eun. *fr.* 47 the inhabitants of Nicopolis organized their own defence against the Goths: οὐτε γοῦν αὐτοὶ φρουρὰν τινα στρατιωτικὴν πεμφθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησαν οὐτε ἐν ἑτέροις ἔθεντο τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἑαυτοῖς ἀμύνειν περιφρονήσαντες ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικίνδυνον ἀπέστησαν (“The Nicopolitans neither expected a military garrison to be sent to them nor did they rely on others for their safety, but, scorning those who were unable to defend themselves, opted for a precarious independence”, tr. Blockley). It is unclear whether this passage refers to the situation before the battle at Adrianople, or, as Blockley argues in his n. 107, to the years 379 or 380, when parts of Thrace and Moesia Secunda were still not under Roman control.

As was observed ad 26.9.2 (p. 243), the plural *praesidia* may refer generally to defensive works; possibly the wagon-camp (*carrago*) is meant here, for which see ad 31.7.7 (p. 130).

*atque ilico, ut oblatae occasionis maturitas postulabat, cum trecentenis militibus per singulos numeros lectis Sebastianus properare dispositus est conducens rebus publicis aliquid, ut promittebat, acturus* The meaning of the *ut*-clause is clear, but the wording is complicated. The Romans needed to act quickly (*maturitas postulabat*), in order to avail themselves of the opportunity that presented itself (*oblatae occasionis*). For *disponere* 'to order' see ad 20.4.9 (p. 74) and for *conducere* "to be profitable" (OLD s.v. 6) cf. 17.5.12 *negotium publicae utilitati conducens* (p. 156). As Harmon 223 explains, *dispositus est* must be read with aphaeresis: *properare dispósitust*; he mentions six unquestionable parallels for this phenomenon in the *Res Gestae*.

According to Eunapius (*fr.* 44.4) Sebastianus had asked for 2000 soldiers (δισχιλίους ἤτησεν ὀπλίτας), as does Zosimus (4.23.2) (δισχιλίους ἤτησεν...δοθῆναι στρατιώτας αὐτῷ). Amm.'s distributivum *trecenteni* 'groups of three hundred' would dovetail nicely with the 2000 of Eunapius and Zosimus if the number of army units from which they were taken was six or seven. For a correct understanding of this passage the word *numeri* is essential. As explained in the note ad 20.1.3 (p. 7), in the fourth century *numeri* became a generic term for army units; Jones 610; Nicasie, 1998, 44 and 57; Schmitt, 2001, and as such it is generally used by Ammianus. It should therefore not be translated as "legion" as Rolfe does, but as "unit" (Hamilton), "Truppenteil" (Seyfarth) and "unité" (Sabbah). Speidel, 1996, 435 came up with the attractive suggestion that the *numeri* refer to units of the *scholae palatinae* of which Valens had six or seven. Each *schola palatina* provided 300 men, thus making a force of c. 2000 soldiers. Sebastianus picked and trained the men himself, as Zosimus (4.23.3) informs us.

- 11.3 *qui itineribus celeratis conspectus prope Hadrianopolim obseratis vi portis iuxta adire prohibebatur veritis defensoribus, ne captus ab hoste veniret et subornatus atque contingeret aliquid in civitatis perniciem* A similar incident is reported in 16.2.7 (Julian) *venit Tricasas adeo insperatus, ut eo portas paene pulsante diffusae multitudinis barbarae metu aditus urbis non sine anxia panderetur ambage* ('the gate was opened only after anxious hesitation'). The phrase *celeratis itineribus conspectus* seems to be shorthand for *cum celeriter in conspectum venisset*. V's *in portis* does not make sense, but Valesius' *vi*, however attractive palaeographically, is not convincing either. Why would the inhabitants of Adrianople have closed their gates 'by force'? Heraeus' *undique*, based on 14.2.18 *obseratis undique portarum aditibus* gives excellent sense, but one has to admit that *undique* is a far cry from *in*. For adverbial *iuxta* 'nearby' cf. 31.12.9 (nisi) *iuxta monstraret exercitum*. This is

the only instance in the *Res Gestae* of *subornare* “to instruct (for a secret or underhand purpose)” (OLD s.v. 3); cf. 15.5.4 *fraudem comminiscitur impiam subornatore et conscio, ut iactavere rumores incerti, Lampadio praefecto praetorio*; Cic. *Clu.* 163 *Ambivium...subornatis qui sibi a Cluentio...manus adlatas esse dicat* (“you are suborning Ambivius...to say that he was assaulted...by Cluentius and his slaves”, tr. Grose Hodge). For *contingere* as a synonym of *accidere* see ad 20.2.3 (p. 15). The inhabitants of Adrianople were obviously afraid that the Goths had ‘turned’ the Roman commander, and that it might be fatal for their city if he were admitted with his soldiers.

From Amm.’s account we may surmise that Sebastianus, after having arrived in Nice together with Valens, selected his force from the various palatine units and then marched to Adrianople. Zos. 4.22.4–23.4 has a different account, and presents a different order of events: after his arrival in Constantinople Sebastianus had received the command of the whole war in Thrace from Valens. With his handpicked soldiers Sebastianus captured walled cities (τὰς...τειχῆρεις κατελάβανε πόλεις), and from there he ambushed the Goths and attacked them when they were foraging, while Valens appears to have remained in Constantinople. Wanke, 1990, 181–182 tries to harmonize the accounts of Ammianus and Zosimus by suggesting that Sebastianus’ actions as described by Zosimus may refer to another, earlier stay in Constantinople of Sebastianus, whereas Amm.’s account refers to events which took place after those described by Zosimus. Wanke’s reconstruction, however, is somewhat forced and hard to accept. In his n. 147 Paschoud tries to reconcile the two accounts in a different and more acceptable way by arguing that Zosimus’ τὰς...τειχῆρεις κατελάβανε πόλεις (4.23.4) refers to the incident reported here, namely that Sebastianus and his soldiers found Adrianople barred and were initially not allowed to approach the city.

*quale per Actum acciderat comitem, quo per fraudem a Magnentiatis militibus capto claustra patefacta sunt Alpium Iuliarum* Actus (PLRE I, Actus) is not known from other sources. Heraeus proposed to read Acacius instead of Actus but this does not make the identification of this *comes* any easier. Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 500 concludes from this passage that Actus was ‘turned’ by the forces of Magnentius in 351 when the latter crossed the Julian Alps to confront Constantius at Siscia. For the usurper Magnentius (PLRE I, Magnentius), see ad 30.7.4 (p. 154). For the Julian Alps, the eastern parts of the Alps, see 21.9.4 (p. 120) and for *claustra* ‘gateway’ cf. 21.13.6 *claustra...Succorum*.

- 11.4 *agnitus tamen licet sero Sebastianus et urbem introire permissus cibo et quiete curatis pro copia, quos ductabat, secuta luce impetu clandestino erupit* The word *agnitus* suggests that at first the people of Adrianople had not seen that it was Sebastianus who stood before the gate. When they finally recognized him, they realized that it was safe to let him enter the city. For personal passive constructions of *permittere* see ad 20.2.5 (p. 19). In 31.8.1 (p. 143) Amm. had reported that the strong cities in Thrace—Adrianople was undoubtedly one of them—were well stocked with life necessities. Cf. 24.3.9 *pro copia rei praesentis victui se recreavit et quieti nocturnae* (where the datives *victui* and *quieti* are problematic, p. 87). TLL IV 900.66 notes about *pro copia* “subauditur plerumque ‘mediocri’”. This tallies well with the fact that the troops had been admitted late in the day (*sero*), so that there was little time to rest. The combination of *erumpere* and *impetu* is very rare. The only clear parallel is Liv. 23.16.12 *patefacta repente porta Marcellus...pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu, in hostem erumpere iubet*.

*vesperaque incedente Gothorum vastatorios cuneos prope flumen Hebrum subito visos paulisper opertus aggeribus et fructis obscura nocte suspensis passibus consopitos aggressus est* Henri de Valois corrected V's *incedente* to *incedente*, no doubt correctly, in view of 20.11.24 *vespera...incedens* and 24.1.6 *vespera incedente*. For *cuneus* and *cuneatim* see ad 31.2.8 (p. 23). The situation described here is very similar to 27.2.2 (Iovinus was informed) *vastatoriam manum quiescere prope flumen iamque adventans abditusque in valle densitate arbustorum obscura videbat lavantes* eqs. For *operiri* ‘to hide’ see TLL IX 2.684.47–65. The word *agger* is used of any elevation in the terrain, ‘rubble’, ‘heap’ (17.7.5 *collo tenus aggeribus obruti*), ‘platform’ (17.13.6 *stansque in aggere celsiore*), ‘earthwork’ (19.8.1 *per aggeres celsos muris proximis*), ‘dyke’ (25.6.8 *riparum aggeribus humana manu instructis*), ‘(main) road’ (21.10.2 *percursis aggeribus publicis*), ‘hill’, ‘mountain range’, (here and in 31.10.15 *asperitates aggerum prominentium*). For *suspensis pedibus* ‘on tip-toe’ cf. 24.4.23 *suspensis gradibus procedentes*.

For the Hebrus river, the modern Maritza, see 22.8.3 (p. 95) and 27.4.10 (p. 92). From Adrianople Sebastianus must have taken the north-western route along the Hebrus. Based on Amm.'s topographical indications Wanke, 1990, 190–191 places the confrontation with the Goths some 20–30 km north-west of Adrianople.

*adeoque prostravit, ut praeter paucos, quos morte velocitas exemerat pedum, interirent reliqui omnes, praedamque retraxit innumeram, quam nec civitas*

*cepit nec planities lata camporum* Cf. 17.12.5 *si quos exemit celeritas morte*, and for *eximere* with abl. see ad 21.12.11 (pp. 164–165). *Planities lata camporum* is a good example of the gen. inversus, which enables the author to add two attributes to *camporum*: ‘the flat and wide fields’ (around Adrianople), to which Sebastianus had apparently returned after his surprise attack.

*qua causa percitus Fritigernus et extimescens, ne dux, ut saepe audierat, impetrabilis dispersos licenter suorum globos raptuique intentos consumeret improvisos adoriens, revocatis omnibus prope Cabylen oppidum cito discessit, ut agentes in regionibus patulis nec inedia nec occultis vexarentur insidiis* For Fritigern, the leader of the Thervingi, see the note ad 31.4.8 (pp. 72–73). There are notes on *percitus* ‘shocked’ ad 20.11.5 (p. 253) and 21.9.5 (p. 120). For *impetrabilis* ‘successful’ cf. 14.8.5 (Nicator Seleucus) *efficaciae impetrabilis rex, ut indicat cognomentum*. As is observed ad 20.10.2 (pp. 238–239), Amm. uses *licenter/licentius* frequently, often with regard to raids by barbarians in the borderlands of the empire, which they traversed ‘at will’, ‘freely’. In the present passage the adverb goes with *dispersos* and means that the Goths were roaming around without order or discipline, which is how Amm. always describes them.

Fritigern is afraid that the Romans will follow the strategy which, according to Amm., would have been the best in the circumstances, viz. to avoid large-scale battles and to attack the enemy piecemeal (31.7.2). Therefore he orders his people to concentrate their forces in the neighbourhood of Cabyle, where there was plenty of food and where the open terrain did not expose them to surprise attacks or ambushes. Cabyle (*Itin. Anton. Aug.* 175.1–2; *Tab. Peut.* VII 3 [Cabilis]; Talbert 22 D6), near modern Yambol, was strategically important because it was located at a crossroads on the main route from Beroea to the Black Sea and from Adrianople to Novae on the Danube; moreover, it lay on the Tonsus river which meets with the Hebrus near Adrianople; Wolfram, 1988, 124–125; Wanke, 1990, 36, 52; Von Bredow, 1999. Tannenbaum, 2016, 231 is hopelessly wrong: “Cabyle, a village well north of Adrianople, with a line of cliffs (the Belogradcik massif) acting as a screen between”.

Fritigern then quickly left the area; he marched, presumably along the Tonsus, southward in the direction of Adrianople and Nice (cf. ad 31.12.3), a distance of 88 miles according to *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 175.1–2 (*A Cabyle per compendium Hadrianopolim usque m.p. LXXXVIII*), i.e. some 130 km. However, the ‘Falk Routenplaner’ gives c. 110 km for the distance between Yambol (Cabyle) and Edirne (Adrianople). Cf. Lenski, 2002, 337 who has 90 km.

- 11.6 *Dum haec aguntur in Thraciis, Gratianus docto litteris patruo, qua industria superaverit Alamannos, pedestri itinere praemissis impedimentis et sarcinis ipse cum expeditiore militum manu permeato Danubio delatus Bononiam Sirmium introiit* This passage refers back to Gratian's campaign against the Alamannic nation of the Lentienses as described in chapter ten. With *qua industria* Amm. repeats his praise of Gratian's victory in §18: *Hanc victoriam...incredibile dictu est quo quantoque vigore...expedivit*. The combination of *impedimenta* and *sarcinae* occurs also in 25.1.8 and 31.12.10; cf. Liv. 25.13.12 *sarcinis omnibus impedimentisque Beneventi relictis*. For *pedestri itinere* cf. Liv. 36.21.6 *inde pedestri itinere Romam ingenti cursu pervenit*; it is in opposition to *permeato Danubio*. TLL X 1.1537.24 rightly distinguishes this use of *permeare*, 'to go downstream', from that in e.g. 14.2.10 *ausos quoque aliquos fiducia nandi vel cavatis arborum truncis amnem permeare latenter facillime trucidarunt*, where it means 'to cross'. Lenski, 2002, 366 rightly observes that because Gratian used river transport he could only have brought with him a few thousand soldiers; cf. Zos. 3.10.2, who reports that Julian only had 3000 men with him sailing down the river Danube.

The western emperor had left Trier shortly after 1 June (*Cod. Theod.* 1.15.9) to go to Thrace when he decided to march in pursuit of the Lentienses and crossed the Rhine (31.10.11, p. 169) by the middle of June. Gratian resumed his journey to Thrace probably at the end of June/ beginning of July. Probably at Lauriacum (modern Lorch-Enns in Austria) the emperor and his light-armed troops embarked and sailed down the Danube, while their baggage went overland (31.10.20, p. 177). They arrived at Bononia or Malata (Talbert 21 B4, modern Banostor in Serbia) by 22 July. Here the emperor and his soldiers disembarked and marched on to Sirmium (Talbert 21 B5, modern Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia), 19 miles (i.e. 28 km) further on (*Bononiam, a Sirmio miliario nono disparatam et decimo*; 21.9.6, p. 123), where they presumably arrived the following day, i.e. 23 July. See for Sirmium ad 21.9.5 (p. 121), 26.5.4 (p. 104) and 30.5.16 (p. 134). We cannot say when and where Gratian sent the letter to his uncle mentioned in this passage; presumably he did so immediately after his expedition against the Lentienses, hence at the end of June/beginning of July when he resumed his journey to Thrace. Vettors, 1950, 32 supposes that Gratian sent off the letter to Valens in Sirmium; cf. Wanke, 1990, 177–178.

*et quadriduum ibi moratus per idem flumen ad Martis castra descendit febribus intervallatis afflictus; in quo tractu Halanorum impetu repentino temptatus amisit sequentium paucos* Gratian stayed for four days in Sirmium, so until 27 July, and then he supposedly returned to Bononia where he arrived

the day after. At Bononia he embarked again to sail down the Danube to Castra Martis (Talbert 21 E6), a Roman fortress in Dacia Ripensis (not in Moesia, as Soz. *HE* 9.5.2 would have it) on the modern site of Kula in Bulgaria. The fortress was built in the third century (Atanassova-Georgieva, 1974) and was still in use in the time of Justinian (Procop. *Aed.* 4.6.33). Since Castra Martis is not on the Danube, the western emperor and his troops probably disembarked at Bononia (modern Vidin) and journeyed from there to Castra Martis, about 30 km inland. The river journey Bononia (Banostor) to Bononia (Vidin) is some 480 km according to Google Maps (measure distance). Since 120 km could be covered daily travelling downstream (Scheidel, 2013, 12 n. 24) Bononia (Vidin) could have been reached within four days, so by 1 or 2 August. Since it took a day to cover the 30 km from Bononia to Castra Martis, Gratian and his soldiers could have arrived there by 2 or 3 August. Castra Martis was still some 543 km via the Succus pass from Adrianople ([www.omnesviae.org](http://www.omnesviae.org)), where Valens was awaiting his co-Augustus; according to 'Falk Routenplaner' the distance between Kula (Castra Martis) and Edirne (Adrianople) is 556 km.

Malaria (Amm. is the only author who uses the term *intervallatae febres*, here and in 29.2.26, pp. 112–113) and the Alans had slowed down Gratian's progress.





## CHAPTER 12

### *Introduction*

This chapter presents a gripping account of the mounting tension during the days before the battle of Adrianople. On the Roman side the emperor himself had arrived in Thrace at the head of a considerable army. He needed a military success badly in order to match up to his young fellow-Augustus Gratian and his general Sebastianus (§1). The Goths on their side, led by the competent and shrewd commander Fritigern, were spoiling for a fight, because they were angry about the way in which they had been treated by the Romans.

When the emperor was informed that the Goths planned to cut off his army's food supplies, he promptly took the requisite measures to deal with this threat (§2). On hearing that Fritigern was heading for the *statio* Nice, not far from Adrianople, with no more than ten thousand men Valens decided on an impulse to go and meet him. He pitched camp close to Adrianople, where he received the general Richomeres, sent by Gratian with a letter in which Gratian implored him not to engage in battle with the Goths before he had arrived (§3–5).

During a staff meeting Sebastianus strongly advised Valens to join battle immediately. Another general, Victor, urged restraint and asked the emperor to wait for the arrival of Gratian and his reinforcements. Valens, however, did not want to share the glory of a victory, which in his opinion was a certainty, with his fellow Augustus. He therefore chose to attack (§6–7). According to Ammianus the skirmishers had seriously underestimated the numerical strength of the Goths, thus causing to a large extent Valens' ill-considered decision. However, it is a real possibility, that the information provided by the skirmishers was correct, but that Valens wanted to attack the Gothic army under Fritigern before the return of the cavalry under Alatheus and Safrax, who had gone out on a separate mission and were expected to rejoin Fritigern soon.

During the preparations for battle, Fritigern sent a Christian priest to offer permanent peace in exchange for permission for the Goths to settle in Thrace. In a secret letter Fritigern demanded that the emperor should show his army to his countrymen in order to intimidate them, as this was the only way to tame their warlike spirit. Ammianus clearly intimates that

these proposals were not to be trusted. In any case Valens sent the envoys back empty-handed (§ 8–9).

On the ninth of August, at daybreak, Valens advanced against the enemy. It was a hot day, and the soldiers had to march for eight hours along rough roads before they caught sight of the Gothic laager. They were received with the usual barbaric war-cries. While the Romans changed the deployment of their troops from a marching column into line of battle, the din of arms so frightened the Goths, who were still waiting for the cavalry under Alatheus and Safrax, that they sent a second delegation to negotiate with the Romans. Again Valens deemed the delegates of insufficient calibre to strike a firm deal with them. These talks led to a new delay of the fighting; meanwhile the Roman soldiers were exhausted by the long march and suffered from heat and hunger (§ 10–13).

In a final effort to ward off a battle Fritigern offered to come in person to negotiate with Valens on condition that a high-ranking Roman would come to the Gothic camp as hostage. When the *cura palatii* Equitius refused to go, Richomeres volunteered to undertake this dangerous mission (§ 14–15). However, while he was on his way to Fritigern, the Roman commanders Bacurius and Cassio began a skirmish with the enemy. This put the spark to the tinder. In the ensuing chaos Richomeres was unable to carry out his mission, and suddenly the cavalry of Alatheus and Safrax appeared on the scene, creating havoc among the Roman infantry (§ 16–17).

- 12.1 *Isdemque diebus exagitatus ratione gemina Valens, quod Lentienses compererat superatos quodque Sebastianus subinde scribens facta dictis exaggerabat, e Melantiade signa commovit* As in 31.10.21, *isdemque diebus* marks the transition from the actions of one commander to another. See ad 27.6.14 (p. 155) for *exagitare* “concitando in inquietum, turbatum, afflictum sim. statum inducere” (TLL V 2.1151.69–70). It is not in Valens’ favour that he was disturbed by the victories of his fellow Augustus and the general whom he himself had asked to come to the East (see for the *magister peditum* Sebastianus ad 31.11.1, p. 184). The victories over the Lentiensian Alamanni, won first by Gratian’s generals, then by Gratian himself, were reported in chapter ten; the western Augustus had informed his uncle of these successes by letter (31.11.6). Sebastianus’ annihilation of some Goths along the river Hebrus near Adrianople was mentioned in 31.11.4. The ‘twofold reason’ for the fact that Valens had felt upset is in fact one: he was jealous of the achievements of Gratian and Sebastianus (but, as appears in § 4, he nevertheless waited *impatienter* for Gratian to arrive). As to Valens’ feelings towards Sebastianus, Zos. 4.23.5 says this: φθόνος ἐξανίσταται κατ’ αὐτοῦ μέγιστος· οὗτος δὲ ἔτι-

κατε μῖσος, ἐντεῦθεν τε διαβολαὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τῶν τοῦ ἄρχειν ἐκπεπτωκότων τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αὐλὴν εὐνούχους παρορμώντων εἰς τοῦτο, ‘much envy was excited against him (Sebastianus), which engendered hatred; the result was that those who had lost their command instigated the court eunuchs to bring Sebastianus into discredit with the emperor’. Sebastianus made matters worse by boasting about the results he had promised (31.11.2 *conducens rebus publicis aliquid, ut promittebat, acturus*) and achieved. There is a note on *subinde* ‘repeatedly’ ad 23.1.7 (p. 17). Lenski, 2002, 336, rightly it seems, deduces from Amm.’s use of this adverb that Sebastianus’ annihilation of Gothic bands, reported in 31.11.4, was part of “a broader series of successes”. *Facta dictis exaggerabat* is a somewhat malicious variation on the well-known statement by Sallust, that it is the task of the historian ‘to match (i.e. to do justice to) the deeds with words’ (*Cat.* 3.2, reading *facta dictis exaequanda*).

The words *e Melantiade signa commovit* are problematic. As is noted ad 31.11.1, Valens left Constantinople, in which city he had arrived on 30 May 378, on 11 June (p. 182). He went to the imperial *villa* Melantias (*ad Melantiada villam Caesarianam profectus*), where he must have arrived on the same day (31.11.1, p. 185). According to 31.11.2, the emperor went from this *villa* to the *statio* Nice, to be identified with modern Havsa near Adrianople (see ad 31.11.2, p. 186), that is, more than 200 km away from Melantias. And now we read in the present text *e Melantiade signa commovit*, which, if taken at face value, would imply that the emperor had returned from the *statio* Nice to the *villa* of Melantias and had then, for the second time, marched into the direction of Adrianople. That strains credibility, and we must therefore assume (with e.g. Thompson, 1947, 30, Wanke, 1990, 181–185, Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 505 and Lenski, 2002, 337) that this is a doublet, and that at the beginning of chapter twelve the emperor was already in Nice. If this is correct, *isdem...diebus* is about the end of June or the beginning of July.

*aequiperare facinore quodam egregio adolescentem properans filium fratris, cuius virtutibus urebatur* This is strongly reminiscent of 20.4.1 (p. 54) *Properantem Constantium orienti ferre suppetias...urebant Iuliani virtutes*, where *urere* means “to cause to burn with jealousy” (OLD s.v. 7). Gratian’s successes were extra painful for Valens because at the time Gratian was only nineteen years old; see for *adolescens* ad 29.1.17 (p. 31). According to Eunapius, there was another bone of contention between uncle and nephew, or rather, nephews (apart from Gratian also the still younger Valentinian II; see for him ad 30.10.4, pp. 201–205), which explains Valens’ irritation: ὑπὴν τι ζηλοτυπίας

αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμβασιλεύοντας, οἱ παῖδες μὲν ἦσαν ἀδελφοῦ...τὴν βασιλείαν δὲ διηρῆσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς ἐδόκουν, τὴν διανομὴν οὐκ ἀνενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸν θεῖον, “he (sc. Valens) was rather chagrined at his fellow Emperors who, being sons of his brother..., had decided to divide up their Empire between themselves without referring the division to their uncle” (Eun.*fr.* 42, tr. Blockley). Valens’ attitude to his nephews comes nicely to the fore in his coinage, as Lenski, 2002, 358 shows: in it Valens was “at pains to represent his claim to rank first in the imperial college”. Cf. Delbrück, 1921<sup>3</sup>, 286 (280): “Ich halte die Erzählung von dem Eifersuchtsmotiv für einen reinen Adjutantenklatsch”.

One wonders if there was also a religious factor involved, as Valesius seems to suggest: “cum Valens Arianos omni studio foveret, Gratianus contra Princeps erat Christianissimus”. Klein, 1956, 59 points to Theodoret: (κύριος) τὸ γὰρ τῶν Γότθων ἔθνος παρακινήσας εἰς πόλεμον ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον εἴλκυσε τὸν κατὰ μόνων τῶν εὐσεβῶν μεμαθηκότα στρατεύειν. τότε δὴ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσθένειαν ὁ μάταιος ἐγνωκὼς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν στρατιὰν ἐξαίτων. ὁ δὲ ἐπέστειλεν ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ἐπαμύνειν ἀνδρὶ πολεμοῦντι θεῷ, (The Lord) “roused the Goths to war, and drew Valens, who knew only how to fight against the pious, on to the Bosphorus. Then for the first time the vain man became aware of his own weakness, and sent to his ἀδελφός [= ? ἀδελφιδοῦς] to ask for troops. But he replied that it would be impious to help one fighting against God” (*HE* 4.28, tr. Jackson, adapted; cf. Zon. 13.17 for the same story). However, as Klein admits, Gratian did send troops to his uncle, and this discredits Theodoret’s remark.

The verb *properare* is often, as here, used with the meaning ‘to be eager’; see ad 25.7.4 (p. 226).

*ducebatque multiplices copias nec contemnendas nec segnes, quippe etiam veteranos isdem iunxerat plurimos, inter quos et honoratiores alii et Traianus recinctus est, paulo ante magister armorum* Amm. does not find fault with the quality of Valens’ army, unlike Zosimus, whose unfavourable opinion about these troops (4.23.2) is quoted ad 31.11.2 (p. 187); see the same note for estimations concerning the numerical strength of Valens’ forces. Lib. *Or.* 24.3–5 agrees with Amm.

The term *veteranus* occurs in the *Res Gestae* also in 16.2.1 (p. 11), where Amm. says that veterans (*veteranos*) had rushed together to help with the defence of Augustodunum (Autun) in 356. In 26.5.3 and 26.7.1 Amm. uses other expressions to describe discharged officers: *sacramento digressus* and *qui...coetu militarium nexi ad pacatiora iam vitae discesserant*, respectively; for t.t. like *emissi*, *evocati* etc. see Schneider and Stoll, 2002. The fact that Valens re-enlisted veterans makes it clear that he had problems finding

recruits for the army (spoken of ad 31.4.4, pp. 60–64). We may assume that the conditions offered by the emperor to these veterans for their re-enlistment were attractive, for in the Late Empire veterans enjoyed several privileges and grants (cf. Jones 635–636, Whitby, 2015a), which they would risk losing if they rejoined the army. Some of these privileges are listed under the heading *De veteranis* in the Theodosian Code, e.g. 7.20.8, 9 and 11, issued during the reign of the Pannonian brothers.

For the civil and military t.t. *honoratus/honoratior* see ad 25.5.3 (p. 177) and TLL VI 3.2949.25–77. Traianus (see for him ad 31.7.1, p. 121 and 31.11.1, pp. 184–185) had been replaced as *magister peditum* with Sebastianus (31.11.1 *Sebastiano...pedestris exercitus cura commissa, quem regebat antea Traianus*). As to *magister armorum*, Amm., who is not always precise in his military designations, uses this title not only for *magister equitum*, as is noted ad 25.8.11 (p. 268), but also for *magister peditum*, as the present text in combination with 31.11.1 demonstrates.

There is a note on *recingi* ‘to receive the *cingulum* again’, i.e. ‘to be recalled’, ad 26.5.3 *Serenianus olim sacramento digressus recinctus est* (p. 101). According to Thdt. *HE* 4.33.2 the generals Arintheus (*PLRE* I, Arinthaëus; cf. the notes ad 24.1.2, p. 8, 25.5.2, p. 172 and 26.8.4, p. 220) and Victor (*PLRE* I, Victor 4; see ad 31.7.1, pp. 120–121 and 31.12.6, pp. 203–204) had put in a good word for him to Valens. For another example of the return into active service of already discharged officers see 26.7.4 *administratio negotiorum castrensium Gomoario et Agiloni revocatis in sacramentum committitur*. What the new function of Traianus was, is not known; perhaps *magister militum vacans*, as the *PLRE* suggests, but see Demandt, 1970, 706–707, who argues for *magister peditum*, as Traianus had been before.

*et quoniam exploratione sollicita cognitum est cogitare hostes fortibus praesidiis itinera claudere, per quae commeatus necessarii portabuntur* For *exploratio* see in general Austin and Rankov, 1995, for *sollicitus* ‘careful’ cf. 14.3.1 *Nohodares...explorabat nostra sollicite, si repperisset usquam locum, vi subita perrupturus*. Amm. often uses *cogitare* with the meaning ‘to plan’; see ad 31.9.2 (p. 155). The indic. fut. *portabuntur* (V) can be defended when interpreted as rendering the intentions of the Goths: ‘we will block the routes along which supplies will be transported’. Amm.’s choice of the indic. fut. may be compared to his frequent use of this mood and tense in *quod*-clauses, for which see ad 20.8.10 (pp. 197–198). *Portabantur* (EA) would be a comment by the author; Pinkster I 669–671.

The last time Amm. had mentioned the *hostes* was in 31.11.5 (p. 191), where he reports that Fritigern with his men left the vicinity of the town of

Cabyle. That the Gothic leader marched from Cabyle in the direction of Adrianople and Nice (Havsa), can be deduced from § 3 *cum barbari...incederent...et...quindecim milibus passuum a civitate* (sc. Adrianople) *discreti, stationem peterent Nicen*. With *itineria* Amm. must mean the roads between Nice, the place where the emperor was at that time, and Constantinople, where he came from.

*occursum est huic conatui competenter ad retinendas opportunitates angustiarum, quae prope erant, peditibus sagittariis et equitum turma citius missa* As is noted in TLL III 2069.78 the adverb *competenter* is found for the first time in Apuleius. It becomes extremely frequent in Late Latin. Like *sollicita* in the preceding clause it expresses Amm.'s appreciation of Valens' conduct up to this point. For *opportunitus* 'strategically situated' see ad 20.7.16 (p. 174). *Angustiarum* in *opportunitates angustiarum* is a gen. inhaerentiae or identitatis, for which see ad 22.12.7 (p. 222); the expression means 'strategically situated mountain passes'. These passes, *quae prope erant*, have to be sought near Nice (Wanke, 1990, 185–187). The form of the ptc. *missa* agrees only with the immediately preceding noun *turma*, but must also be taken with *peditibus*. See Pinkster I 1268, who quotes i.a. Cic. *Att.* 9.7.5 *legibus, iudiciis, senatu sublato*, "after the subversion of laws, law courts, and Senate." *Pedites sagittarii* are mentioned only here in the *Res Gestae*, and further in Tac. *Ann.* 2.16.3 and Veg. *mil.* 3.6.15; pace Müller, 1905, 585, the *sagittarii mille succincti et leves* of 30.1.11 (p. 14) must have been cavalry men, not infantry men, like, for instance, the *equites quartae Sagittariorum cohortis* of 29.5.20. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* the combination *pedites sagittarii* does not occur, but we find numerous *equites sagittarii* (e.g. *Or.* 33.20–22, 38.11–12, *Occ.* 32.32, 33.38); see in general for archers in the army of the Late Empire Syv  ne, 2015. For *turma* see above, ad 31.4.7 (p. 71).

- 12.3 *triduoque proximo cum barbari gradu incederent leni et metuentes eruptionem per devia quindecim milibus passuum a civitate discreti stationem peterent Nicen* For expressions with *gradu* see ad 20.4.12 (p. 81). In 24.6.12 *leni* (*gradu*) is used in contrast to *concito gradu*, so that the meaning must be 'slowly', 'unhurriedly'; cf. Liv. 38.21.2 *signa peditum, ut per arduum, leni gradu ducuntur*. Since the barbarians obviously feared a surprise attack, they kept a respectful distance (fifteen miles equals about 22 km) from the city (with *civitate* Adrianople must be meant, not Constantinople, as Rolfe thinks). The inhabitants of Adrianople themselves were to do the same later, after the Goths had lifted the siege of their city: 31.16.2 *egressi media nocte vitatis aggeribus publicis per nemorosa et devia*, "avoiding the highways...through

wooded and pathless places”, tr. Rolfe. Note that the verb *petere* has its usual meaning ‘to be on one’s way to’, ‘to try to reach’. The Goths, who advanced at a slow pace, could not reach Nice in three days (*triduo*), as the total distance between the *oppidum* Cabyle and the *statio* Nice was about 135 km. Nice was situated some 26 km south-east of Adrianople, as is argued ad 31.11.2. As to why the barbarians marched towards Nice is unclear. Did they seek a confrontation with the emperor himself?

*incertum, quo errore, procursatoribus omnem illam multitudinis partem, quam viderant, in numero decem milium esse firmantibus imperator procaci quodam calore percussus isdem occurrere festinabat* This use of *incertum*, followed by an interrogative, as the equivalent of an indefinite pronoun or adverb is discussed ad 21.7.6 (p. 103). There are notes on *procursatores* ad 23.3.4 (p. 40) and 24.3.1 (p. 70). The wording of the text is vague. *Illam...partem, quam viderant* can only refer to the barbarians on their march towards Nice. The *multitudo*, of which they were a part, must refer to the sum total of the invaders (see for the difficulty to calculate them ad 31.4.6, p. 69). For this use of *multitudo* we may compare 31.4.2 *multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum vi subita sedibus pulsam*, 31.4.8 *innumerae gentium multitudines per provincias circumfusae*, 31.13.2 *multitudine hostili urgente*, 31.13.8 *dum multitudo tolerabatur hostilis*. The information provided by the skirmishers was one of the main reasons for Valens’ decision to attack. Amm. condemns Valens’ reaction as dictated by ‘reckless zeal’ (for *procax*, used of people “qui nimium sibi praesumunt” see TLL X 2.1493.29–42, and for *calor* OLD s.v. 5a). For “steigernd” *quidam* (Szantyr 196) see ad 20.4.13 (pp. 83–84); the pronoun serves at the same time to tone down the unparalleled expression *procaci calore*. Like *properare* (see above ad § 1) *festinare* is regularly used in the meaning ‘to be eager’.

Austin and Rankov, 1995, 241 offer a very different interpretation of the course of events. According to them, the information of the *exploratores* was “up to the minute and apparently correct”. As Austin, 1972, 81–83, had argued in an earlier article, there is no need to doubt the estimation by the skirmishers of the numerical strength of the Goths led by Fritigern, and Valens decided to attack not so much out of ‘reckless zeal’, but in order to prevent the cavalry under Safrax and Alatheus from joining Fritigern’s forces. Sebastianus, who favoured a piecemeal approach (31.11.5) instead of an all-out offensive against the united Goths, supported Valens’ decision for that reason. Fritigern, on the other hand, played for time, hoping that the cavalry would arrive before the Romans were there. In the end Safrax and Alatheus appeared during the fighting which had been provoked by the ill-



considered attack by Bacurius and Cassio (31.13.16). Both sides had taken huge risks, but luck had finally been on the side of the Goths.

- 12.4 *proinde agmine quadrato incedens prope suburbanum Hadrianópoleos vénit* The *agmen quadratum*, the normal marching order in case of a possible enemy attack, is discussed ad 24.1.2 (pp. 5–6). As is noted ad 20.4.12 (p. 80), the meaning of *suburbanum* in Late Latin is often ‘suburb’, especially when the plural is used (cf. the note ad 21.15.2, p. 229). Amm. scans the genitive ending *-poleos* with synizesis; cf. 26.10.6 in *Philippópoleos defensóres* (velox), 26.7.2 *póstea Constantinópoleos* (octosyllabus) and § 10 of this chapter *prope Hadrianópoleos múros* (planus).

*ubi vallo sudibus fossaque firmato Gratianum impatienter opperiens Richomeren comitem domesticorum suscepit ab eodem imperatore praemissum cum litteris ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus* The use of the verb *firmare* is zeugmatic. In connection with *vallum* it has the meaning ‘to build’ (a strong wall), cf. 16.3.2 *non ante motus est exinde, quam...pacem firmaret*, ‘he did not leave before he had concluded a lasting peace’. With *sudibus fossaque* the verb means ‘to reinforce’ (with stakes and a moat). For *impatienter* cf. 25.3.4 *factorem elephantorumque stridorem impatienter tolerantibus nostris*, “since our men could hardly endure the smell and trumpeting of the elephants”, tr. Rolfe.

The last time Amm. had mentioned Gratian was in 31.11.6 (pp. 192–193), where he relates that the young *imperator* (cf. for this term above, ad 31.4.8, p. 73), troubled by fever, had arrived from Sirmium in Castra Martis, which is some 550 km distant from Adrianople, where he had to endure an attack of Alans. Gratian had sent his *comes domesticorum* Richomeres earlier with some troops from Gaul to Thrace (31.7.4, p. 125), where he became commander of the whole force coming from the West (31.7.5, p. 127), but he had returned to Gaul to procure reinforcements at the end of the summer of 377 (31.8.2, p. 143). He apparently left Gaul again when Gratian moved eastward in 378.

- 12.5 *quarum textu oratus, ut praestolaretur paulisper periculorum participem neve abruptis discriminibus temere semet committeret solum, adhibitis in consilium potestatibus variis, quid facto opus esset, deliberabat* See ad 30.8.1 (p. 164) for *textus*. For *praestolari* ‘to wait for’ see ad 24.7.8 (p. 221). Amm. may have chosen this rare verb for the sake of alliteration. For *abruptus* in combination with *discrimen* or *periculum* see the list in TLL I 142.72–84; nearly all the instances are taken from Amm. In calling a war council, Valens acts as a

responsible commander should: Veg. *mil.* 3.9.19 *Dux itaque vigilans sobrius prudens...adhibito consilio de suis et adversarii copiis iudicet*. The *potestates variae* are military and civil authorities, called *castrenses et ordinariae potestates* in 21.16.2 (p. 246).

Among the military authorities were definitely the *magister peditum* Sebastianus and the *magister equitum* Victor (31.12.6). About the others one can only speculate (Equitius? cf. 31.12.15, 13.18; Valerianus? cf. 31.13.18), but in all probability Traianus (cf. 31.12.1) and Saturninus (cf. 31.8.3, 31.13.9) belonged to them. Profuturus and Arintheus probably did not. Profuturus had been sent, together with Traianus, to Thrace by Valens in 377 (31.7.1, cf. 31.7.5 and 31.8.3), but is not heard of again after the battle of Salices, in which he was presumably killed. See for civil officials who were possibly included in Valens' advisers the note ad 30.4.2 (p. 62), for *consilium* (and *consistorium*) ad 20.4.22 (pp. 110–111) as well as the literature cited ad 30.6.2 (p. 140). Solari, 1932 deals with the discussion in Valens' council of war and, inter alia, compares Amm.'s account with that of Zos. 4.23–24; Wanke, 1990, 199–202 does the same, but more extensively.

*Quid facto opus esset* is a Sallustianism (*Cat.* 46.2, cf. also *ibid.* 1.6 and 45.1). The imperfect *deliberabat* sets the scene for the discussion, the final outcome of which will be given in the perfect tense *vicit* (§ 7).

*et cum Sebastiano auctore quidam protinus eundum ad certamen urgerent, Victor nomine magister equitum, Sarmata (armata V), sed cunctator et cautus, eadem sentientibus multis imperii socium exspectari censebat, ut incrementis exercitus Gallicani ascitis opprimeretur levius tumor barbaricus flammans* For *urgere* with Acl cf. 25.8.9 (ut) *Lucillianum...properare Mediolanum urgerent*; Szantyr 355. With characteristic sagacity Henri de Valois saw that V's *armata* should be emended to *Sarmata*, adding “non sine causa notavit Ammianus, Victorem, licet Sarmata esset, more Romano prudentem et cautum, nec temerario ardore praecipitem aut pugnandi cupidum fuisse”. The *magister equitum* Victor was mentioned for the last time in 31.7.1 (pp. 120–121), where Amm. reports that he was sent as an envoy to Persia the moment Valens planned to leave Antioch to go to Constantinople; meanwhile Victor had apparently returned to the court. For the addition *nomine* to his name (here and in 24.4.13, 24.6.13 and 31.13.9) and to those of others (cf. e.g. 31.10.21 *Maurus nomine...comes*), see Kelly, 2015, who argues that this can be explained by the fact that names like Maurus and Victor are also familiar adjectives or nouns, or, in the case of Victor, that “there was also potential confusion with the regiment called the *Victores*”. This explanation is preferable to that which sees the repeated reference *Victor nomine* as

12.6

unfavourable, “as if he had been a nonentity” (Shahîd, 1984, 269). In Amm. *cunctator* is most often a term of praise, cf. ad 30.3.2 (p. 49), but see for a different opinion about 14.10.14 *ut cunctator et cautus* Marcos, 2015. Valens, who acts *procaci quodam calore percussus* (§ 3) is the opposite.

Remarkably, whereas in Amm.’s narrative Sebastianus and his followers urge to join battle forthwith, and Victor and many others advise caution, Zos. 4.23.6–24.1 gives a completely different version: Σεουαστιανὸς μὲν ἐδήλου κατὰ χώραν μένειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω προβαίνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶναι ῥᾶστον πλήθει τοσούτῳ πόλεμον ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἐπάγειν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ περιδρομῆς καὶ λαθραίαις ἐπιθέσει τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, ἕως ἂν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπειπόντες ἢ παραδοίεν αὐτούς, ἢ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους χωρίων ἀναχωρήσαιεν, τοῖς Οὐννοῖς ἐκδιδόντες τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ συμβαίνειν εἰωθόσιν οἰκτροτάτοις ὀλέθροις. Ἀλλ’ ἐκείνου ταῦτα παραινούντος, οἱ τάναντία σπουδάζοντες ἐξίέναι τὸν βασιλέα πανστρατιᾷ παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὡς ἤδη τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἐπίπαν ἀπολωλότων καὶ ἀκονιτὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ νίκῃ παρισταμένου (“Sebastianus told the emperor to stay where he was and not advance any further, saying it was not easy to conduct an open war with such a numerous enemy. It was better to prolong it with manoeuvres and ambushes until, weakened by lack of provisions, they either surrendered or retreated from Roman territory, preferring to give themselves up to the Huns rather than suffer the pitiful destruction usually resulting from a famine. Although Sebastianus advised this course of action, his opponents, eager for the emperor to advance with his whole force, encouraged the last to go to war, saying that the barbarians were almost all destroyed and he was close to an easy victory”, tr. Ridley, adapted). Opinions differ as to who is right, Amm. or Zosimus. Most scholars opt for Amm.’s version (e.g. Paschoud n. 148), but cf. Judeich, 1891, 11–12 Koehler, 1925, 68, and Burns, 1973, 342 with n. 38. Lenski, 1997, 147 wisely notes: “While some have tried to sort through the contradiction, it seems safer to conclude that supporters of both generals pointed the finger”.

- 12.7 *vicit tamen funesta principis destinatio et adulabilis quorundam sententia regionum, qui, ne paene iam partae victoriae, ut opinabantur, consors fieret Gratianus, properari cursu celeri suadebant* As Redondo Sánchez, 2007, 762 rightly observes: “Es éste el pasaje clave en el relato de los preliminares del batalla”. As is observed ad 20.11.7 (pp. 256–257), *destinatio* ‘determination’ is a *vox media*, often accompanied by positive or negative qualifications; compare 26.8.12 *verecundia et destinatio gloriosa* with the present adj. *funesta*. For the extremely rare *adulabilis* cf. 14.11.11 *adulabili sermone periuriis admixto*; TLL I 874.31–34. In 31.4.4 Amm. refers to *eruditi adulatores* among Valens’ advisers.

Substantivized *regii* ‘courtiers’ is not very common. There is (pace Wanke, 1990, 202, who wrongly cites 14.11.3 and 30.4.2) one other instance in the *Res Gestae*: 29.2.9 *ex clandestinis, ut dictum est, regionum confabulationibus*; OLD s.v. 1b. Cf. with *paene iam partae victoriae* Zos. 4.24.1, cited ad § 6. Note the sarcastic *ut opinabantur*. The construction of *suadere* with *inf.* is already found in Cicero; Szantyr 346.

*Et dum necessaria parabantur ad decernendum, Christiani ritus presbyter, ut ipsi appellant, missus a Fritigerno legatus cum aliis humilibus venit ad principis castra susceptusque leniter eiusdem ductoris obtulit scripta* 12.8

As a rule Amm. writes the present indic. after *dum* ‘while’, in conformity with classical usage, but there are cases in which he prefers the imperf. indic., as here and in 31.5.6 *dum...vino marcebat et somno...occidit*. See on *dum* in general Ehrismann 46–48, for *decernere* above, ad 31.5.9 (p. 93). For *Christiani ritus* see ad 22.10.7 (p. 195) and 28.6.27 (p. 295). The addition *ut ipsi appellant* (cf. *ut appellant Christiani* in 14.9.7 and *ut appellant* in 15.7.7) does not imply that Amm. was himself unfamiliar with the Christian term *presbyter*, or presumed his readers to be. As A. and A. Cameron, 1964, 323 have shown, Amm. was “perfectly familiar with the Christian way of life, Christian teaching and Christian vocabulary”. Fritigern’s sending of the *presbyter* is the first attempt of the Goths to open negotiations with Valens; two other attempts will follow, cf. § 12 and § 14. As is noted ad 29.5.15 (p. 172), in the fourth century priests were increasingly employed as negotiators and envoys; cf. 20.7.7, pp. 162–163 and 31.15.6. In the case of Fritigern (see for him ad 31.4.8) the fact that a priest is sent as envoy to Valens is even more understandable if Socr. *HE* 4.33.2–4 is right in stating that this Gothic chieftain had embraced (Arian) Christianity out of gratitude for the emperor’s help in his conflict with Athanaric, and urged his fellow Goths to do the same. Note, however, that according to Eun. *fr.* 48.2 the Goths were not Christians at all, and that their envoys should not be trusted: Χριστιανοί τε εἶναι πάντες ἔλεγον καὶ τινὰς ὡς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ θαυμαζόμενον σχῆμα καταστολίσαντες καὶ περικρύψαντες...εἰς τὸ μέσον προηφίσαν...καὶ τοῦτο ὀξέως συνειδὼν οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ θαυμαζόμενον παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ῥαδίως ἐς παραγωγὴν ἐπιτηδεύσαντες (“They all claimed to be Christians and some of their numbers they disguised as their bishops and dressed them up in that respected garb and...brought them forward...The barbarians used these devices to deceive the Romans, since they shrewdly observed that these things were respected amongst them”, tr. Blockley). With Heather, 1986, 307–308 we assume that the barbarians of this text are the Goths who crossed the Danube in 376.

One may wonder whether *presbyter...cum aliis humilibus* means that the priest, like his fellows, was considered to be a humble person, or that we should interpret ‘the priest and others, who were humble persons’. The parallel with section 13 points in the direction of the former alternative. There fresh envoys, sent by the Goths, are scorned by the emperor because of their low rank (*dum vilitatem despicit imperator*), and the emperor wants to deal only with *optimates*. For the use of *optimates* for non-Romans see ad 31.2.7 (p. 23). The present delegation was probably rejected for the same reason. Despite their lowly status the delegates are received in a civilized way (*leniter*), in conformity with diplomatic good manners; cf. 15.5.27 *Susceptus tamen idem dux* (Ursicinus) *leniter*, 17.10.3 *susceptus bonoque animo esse iussus et placido* (Suomarius), 18.2.16 (Vadomarius) *leniter susceptus est, ut decebat*, 25.1.6 *Adaces, nobilis satrapa, legatus quondam ad Constantium principem missus ac benigne susceptus*. For anaphoric *idem*, used with increasing frequency in Late Latin, see ad 20.4.5 (p. 64) and Pinkster I 1150.

*petentis propalam, ut sibi suisque, quos extorres patriis laribus rapidi ferarum gentium exegere discursus, habitanda Thracia sola cum pecore omni concederetur et frugibus, hoc impetrato spondentis perpetuam pacem* The adverb *propalam* prepares the reader for the secret message mentioned in §9. Cf. 31.2.8 (the Huns) *cum caede vasta discurrent, nec invadentes vallum nec castra inimica pilantes prae nimia rapiditate cernuntur* and 31.4.4 *legatorum* (of the Goths) *precibus et obtestatione petentium citra flumen suscipi plebem extorrem*.

The interpretation of *Thracia sola* is not immediately clear. Is the diocese *Thracia* meant (thus e.g. Seeck, 1920–1923<sup>2-4</sup>, V, 1117–118 and Scardigli, 1979, 298) or the province of that name? According to Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 410–411 n. 3 “kann nur Thrakien im engsten Sinne, d.h. die Provinz, deren Hauptstadt Philippopol war, gemeint sein” (he is followed by e.g. Cesa, 1984, 76 with n. 39 and Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 515). In this view Fritigern’s demand reflects his strong position and transcends the concessions made earlier to the Goths. In contrast to 31.4.5 (pp. 65–66), where it is said that the emperor was willing to settle the Goths in *Thraciae partes*, “also in zerstreut liegenden unbebauten Parzellen”, Fritigern now insists “auf Überlassung des Gebietes einer ganzen geschlossenen Provinz unter Expropriation der bisherigen Besitzer”. According to this view (Schmidt cum suis do not go into this) *sola* should apparently be taken either as a token of modesty on the part of Fritigern, or of his diplomatic skill: although he could have asked for more provinces, he asked for “Thrace only” (Rolfé), “la sola Tracia” (Caltabiano,

Viansino); note that Seyfarth, Hamilton and Sabbah in their translations do not render *sola*.

Logical though this interpretation may seem, Amm.'s idiom speaks against it. Admittedly, Amm. distinguishes between Thrace in the wider sense, that is to say the diocese, and Thrace in the narrower sense, viz. one of the provinces which formed the diocese (cf. ad 20.8.1, p. 182). However, only in 27.4.12 is the name unequivocally (cf. 27.4.11 *rei publicae sex provinciae sunt quaesitae*) used in the meaning of province. In all other forty occurrences of *Thracia(e)* (the present text not included) the diocese is meant. But would it not be highly undiplomatic, indeed preposterous, for the Goths to demand 'only (the diocese) of Thrace'? It certainly would, and therefore Haupt's suggestion is attractive. He proposed (1876, 506) to read *concederentur* instead of V's *concederetur* with *sola* 'lands', 'territory' as its subject. Plural *sola* is rare, but not unattested: Enn. *Ann.* 138 Sk. *Tarquinio dedit imperium simul et sola regni*; Catul. 63.7 *terrae sola*, 40 *aethera album, sola dura, mare ferum*; Lucr. 2.592 *sola terrae*; Cic. *Balb.* 13 *vos denique mutuae regiones inploro, et sola terrarum ultimarum*. In view of these parallels it is tempting to read *Thraciae sola*, which, if correct, would be synonymous with the *Thraciae partes* of 31.4.5. In other words, Fritigern cleverly refers to the concession Valens himself had made earlier.

Since there has been no mention of cattle being transported across the Danube, the Goths must have claimed the livestock along with the corn supplies available in Thrace, a tall order but vital for a permanent stay there. As regards the offer of lasting peace cf. 31.4.1 *et quiete victuros se pollicentes et daturos, si res flagitasset, auxilia* (pp. 54–55).

*praeter haec idem Christianus ut conscius arcanorum et fidus secretas alias eiusdem regis obtulit litteras* For a similar procedure cf. 20.8.18 *His litteris iunctas secretiores alias Constantio offerendas clanculo misit* and 25.8.10 *quibus imperator secretiores addiderat litteras* (p. 266). The priest presented himself as a confidant of Fritigern, but Valens obviously did not trust him, and refused to negotiate with the delegates, as the end of this section shows: *legati...ut ambigui frustra habiti discesserunt*. Cf. for *ut conscius arcanorum* 15.2.5 *paucis arcanorum...consciis*, 15.5.9 *ut arcanorum conscius*, and 26.6.14 *per arcanorum conscios*. Fritigern is called *rex* only here and in 31.6.5 *laudato regis consilio*. 12.9

*qui astu et ludificandi varietate nimium sollers docebat Valentem quasi mox amicus futurus et socius aliter se popularium saevitiam mollire non posse vel ad condiciones rei Romanae profuturas allicere* Amm. had already portrayed

Fritigern as a shrewd adversary in 31.5.7 (p. 89). In section 14 of this chapter he calls him *callidus futuri* (or rather *futurorum*) *conietor* and in section 15 even *formidatus dux*. The king, “all too skilled in craft and in various forms of deception” (tr. Rolfe; Amm. had used the same expression in 17.13.27), tries out his wiles first of all on Valens, pretending that he will be his future friend and ally, but at the same time he intends to manipulate his own people in order to tame their savagery (cf. for *saevire* and its cognates Seager 54–55). He also will try to make them accept peace terms favourable to Rome (*condiciones rei Romanae profuturas*). Does this mean that the Christian faith among the Goths was becoming stronger, as Rubin, 1981, 49 suggests? That is not very likely (so already Cesa, 1984, 77 n. 41). One rather has to think of the provision of auxiliaries for the Roman army, which, as was stated by Amm. in 31.4.4 (p. 59), was regarded as an asset for Rome by some of Valens’ advisers; cf. 31.4.1 (pp. 54–55) *et quiete victuros se pollicentes et daturos, si res flagitasset, auxilia*.

*nisi subinde armatum isdem iuxta monstraret exercitum et timore imperatorii nominis intentato eos a pernicioso pugnandi revocaret ardore. et legati quidem ut ambigui frustra habiti discesserunt* The emperor must show his army repeatedly (*subinde*), ready for battle (*armatum*) and at close range (*iuxta*) in order to achieve the desired effect. Fritigern copies the tactics of king Igmarzen in 29.5.52 (p. 215), who invited Theodosius the Elder to intimidate his own people with a display of power. *Intentare* is normally used for threatening gestures with fists or weapons. Here it is the name of the emperor which must fill the barbarians with awe. For *ambiguus* ‘untrustworthy’ see ad 22.3.9 *Arbitionem semper ambiguum* (p. 32) and for *frustra habiti* ‘empty-handed’ cf. 18.6.6 *si Persae frustra habiti redissent ad sua* and 24.4.7 (Surena) *habitus frustra discessit*. Note that at this time Valens, as depicted by Amm., deemed Fritigern’s proposal untrustworthy (“So vollendete sich das Geschehen wie eine antike Tragödie. Der Bote kam, um den Helden vor dem Untergang zu warnen, aber dieser, von Hybris geschlagen, wollte nicht hören”, Wolfram, 1977 [1978], 242), whereas we read in §14–15 that some time later a fresh attempt of the Gothic leader to come to an agreement with the emperor met with approval: *laudato probatoque formidati ducis proposito*. Whether or not Fritigern’s proposals were sincere we shall never know. See for a discussion of this question e.g. Thompson, 1963, 106–107 and Wanke, 1990, 206–213.

Amm. uses—*quidem*, followed by *vero* several times as a transition formula, e.g. 15.8.1, 18.2.17, 23.5.18 and 31.7.11, in the present case connecting §8–9 about diplomacy with the actual hostilities beginning in §10.

Many details of the battle of Adrianople, for which Amm. is the main source, are unknown. Other details are unclear, despite of a considerable number of modern studies. Of these studies Brodka, 2009a is recent and very good, but some older ones are also still valuable. Here follows, in chronological order, a selection: Judeich, 1891; Runkel, 1903; Delbrück, 1921<sup>3</sup>, 282–299; Austin, 1972; Burns, 1973; Wanke, 1990, 198–230; Nicasie, 1998, 233–256; Barbero, 2007; Tannenbaum, 2016. 12.10–17

*Exoriente vero aurora diei, quem quintum Iduum Augustarum numerus ostendit annalis, signa praepropere commoventur* The solemn and unparalleled formulation of the date ('the day which its number in the calendar marks as the fifth before the Ides of August', i.e. 9 August) emphasizes the historical importance of the battle of Adrianople. The exact date is also mentioned in other sources: Socr. *HE* 4.38.7 ἐκεῖ (i.e. near Adrianople) τε συμβαλὼν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπέθανεν τῇ ἐνάτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνὸς...τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς διακοσιοστῆς ἐνάτης ὀλυμπιάδος (cf. Hansen's app. crit. "nicht Ol. 289, 4 sondern Ol. 289, 2 = 378"); *Consul. Constant. a. 378 pugna magna fuit cum Romanis et Gothis miliario xii ab Hadrianopoli die v id. Aug.* Amm. does not often use this precise dating by key days: *Kalendae* seventeen times, *Idus* five times, *Nonae* twice. On 9 August 378 dawn rose about 5.30 a.m.; see for the shape of the day Marquardt and Mau, 1886<sup>2</sup>, 253 ff., Balsdon, 1969, 16 ff.; cf. for the expression: Catul. 64.271 *Aurora exoriente vagi sub limina Solis* ("When Aurora mounts beneath the threshold of the wandering Sun", tr. Smithers). The adverb *praepropere* is found only here in the *Res Gestae*. It usually has the negative connotation of rashness; TLL X 2.787.19–45. 12.10

*impedimentis et sarcinis prope Hadrianópolis muros cum legionum tutela congrua collocatis. thesauri enim et principalis fortunae insignia cetera cum praefecto et consistorianis ambitu moenium tenebantur* For the synzesis in *Hadrianópolis* see ad § 4 of this chapter, and for *enim* 'of course', 'as one might expect' see ad 29.5.2 (p. 155). There is a note on the combination of *impedimenta* and *sarcinae* ad 31.11.6 (p. 192).

It is not known which legions were assigned to the task of guarding the army train (for *legio* see ad 31.7.2, p. 122). Indeed, most of the names of the legions Valens had at his disposal of are not known either. It is in 31.13.8 that we hear that the Lancearii and Mattiarii were among them, while in 31.7.2 Amm. speaks of *legiones ab Armenia ductas* under the command of Profuturus and Traianus, which may refer to the *legio XV Apollinaris*, the *legio XII Fulminata* and the *legio I Pontica* (these troops suffered great losses



in the battle near Salices, 31.7.16). About the rest we grope in the dark (for estimations about the total size of Valens' army at Adrianople see ad 31.11.2, pp. 186–187).

The *comes sacrarum largitionum* was accountable for the treasury (*thesauri*; cf. *Pan.* 3.22.2 *thesaurorum omnium mandata custodia*, sc. mihi Marmertino, with Delmaire, 1989, 20–21); at the time Fl. Eutolmius Tatianus (*PLRE* I, Tatianus 5; cf. the note ad 30.4.2, p. 62) was in charge of this office. Delmaire, 1989, 64–65, pointing to 27.5.6 and *Cod. Theod.* 10.21.1, which was issued at Noviodunum on 3 July 369 and received at Marcianopolis on 18 July by the then CSL Archelaus (*PLRE* I, Archelaus 3), notes that in 369 Valens also left the treasury in a safe place (Marcianopolis) when he started his campaign (in Noviodunum).

The expression *principalis fortunae insignia* (cf. *fortunae principalis insignia* in 31.15.2) is borrowed from *Tac. Hist.* 2.59.3 (Vitellius) *cinxit* (his son)... *cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus*. Variations are found in 14.11.3, 15.6.3, 20.4.8 (p. 71), 26.7.10 and 27.6.4. The *praefectus (praetorio)* in 378 was probably Aburgius (*PLRE* I, Aburgius). For (literature on) his function see ad 21.6.5 (pp. 83–84), 23.5.6 (p. 94), 25.3.14 (p. 85) and 26.2.1 (p. 38). Among the other civil members of the *consistorium* (cf. for this advisory council of the emperor ad 30.6.2, p. 140; *consistorianus* occurs three times in the *Res Gestae*, apart from the present text in 15.5.12 and 15.6.1) may have been the *magister officiorum* Sophronius (*PLRE* I, Sophronius 3; Clauss 1980 [1981], 190) and the anonymous *comes rei privatae* (*PLRE* I, Anonymus 27: ? “CRP [East] 370/378”); cf. in general for Valens' bureaucrats Lenski, 2002, 62–64.

- 12.11** *decursis itaque viarum spatiis confragosis, cum in medium torridus procederet dies, octavo tandem hostium carpenta cernuntur, quae ad speciem rotunditatis detornatae digesta exploratorum relatione affirmabantur* Cf. 24.3.10 *decursis milibus passuum quattuordecim*, 24.6.2 *stadiis triginta decursis*. The details *viarum spatiis* ‘a long distance’ and *confragosis* ‘rough’ are not superfluous: together with the midday heat, and the hunger and thirst of the soldiers mentioned in section 13, they explain why the Roman soldiers were at such a disadvantage when the battle started. According to Runkel, 1903, 34 “müssen wir die grosse Heerstrasse als Anmarschstrasse von vorne herein ausschliessen. Dagegen die alte Strasse, die über Demeranlija auf Kirkliissi nach Ostnordosten von der Stadt [i.e. Adrianople] führt, zeigt noch heute ganz das Bild, das Ammian von Valens' Anmarschstrasse entwirft”; he is followed with some modifications by Wanke, 1990, 217 and Lenski, 2002, 338 with n. 107. In contrast to Runkel (and Seyfarth in the Teubneriana), how-

ever, Wanke and Lenski read *octava* instead of V's *octavo*, which has consequences for the localisation of the ensuing battle.

Henri de Valois defended V's *octavo* sc. *lapide* (cf. e.g. 29.6.7 *Sirmium vicensimo sexto lapide disparatum*) or *miliario* (cf. e.g. 21.9.6 *a Sirmio miliario nono disparatam et decimo*). For the ellipsis of the noun (*lapide* or *miliario*) Blomgren 99 n. 3 mentions as parallels Tac. *Hist.* 2.24.2 *ad duodecimum a Cremona*, 2.39.2 *promoveri ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit*, 3.15.2 *ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus*. However, the reading *octavo* does not tally (as Valesius himself admitted) with *miliario xii ab Hadrianopoli* of *Consul. Constant.* a. 378, already quoted ad §10. Therefore the suggestion of Haupt, 1876, 506, who proposed to read *octava...<hora>*, deserves to be considered (in his bilingual edition Seyfarth adopted this reading, as did Rolfe).

Petschenig, 1892, 734 rejected Haupt's proposal, because, according to him, it "steht im Widerspruch mit den vorhergehenden Worten, daß es gegen Mittag ging". Does it? Petschenig ignores *tandem*. It would seem that Haupt's *octava...<hora>* makes perfectly good sense ("the seventh hour roughly corresponded to our midday", Bickerman, 1980<sup>2</sup>, 15; the eighth hour of the day in midsummer is from about 1.15 until 2.30 p.m.; Schmitz, 1875; Balsdon, 1969, 16; cf. Seyfarth, 1986<sup>3</sup>, 365 n. 131 "zwischen 13 und 14 Uhr"). Valens' army set out at sunrise, i.e. about 5.30 a.m., marched a long distance over rough paths (*decursis...viarum spatiis confragosis*) while the hot day was approaching noon (*cum in medium torridus procederet dies*), and then finally (*tandem*), at the eighth hour (*octava...<hora>*), came within sight of the enemy's laager (*hostium carpenta cernuntur*). Since there is no parallel in the *Res Gestae* for the ellipsis of *hora*, it seems wisest, pace Blomgren 99 n. 3, to accept Haupt's *octava tandem <hora>* in which *hora* may easily have dropped out before *hostium* by haplography.

Assuming that in 31.12.11 Amm. spoke about the 'eighth hour', and that the distance of 'twelve miles from Adrianople' mentioned in *Consul. Constant.* a. 378 is correct, Wanke, 1990, 214–217 and Lenski, 2002, 338 with n. 107 suggest as the location of 'the battle of Adrianople' the region near Demirhanlı at a distance of 17 à 18 km northeast from Adrianople. Cf. Brodka, 2009a, 268. "On the plain of Nice", as Tannenbaum, 2016, 236–237 has it, and before him e.g. Seeck, 1920–1923<sup>2–4</sup>, V, 118; Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 2, 186 n. 160, is misleading, since Nice is to be sought to the southeast of Adrianople, as is argued ad 31.11.2, p. 186.

For the *carpenta* see ad 31.7.7 (p. 130). The wagons were drawn up (*digesta*) in a circle (*rotunditatis*) "as if it were turned by a lathe" (*detornatae*; Rolfe n. 1 ad loc.). The verb *detornare* is, apart from Plin. *Nat.* 13.62 and

Gel. 9.8.3, found only here and in 23.6.11 *sinus...velut spatio detornato*; TLL V 1.819.35–41. The expression seems to be a Grecism; cf. Hdt. 4.36, who speaks scathingly about map makers οἱ Ὠκεανόν τε θέοντα γράφουσι περίξ τὴν γῆν, εὐὸσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου (“they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the river of Ocean”, tr. Godley). In 31.15.5 the same formation of the Gothic laager is described in the words *vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustrorum*. According to Soz. *HE* 6.40.2 the Goths were encamped in a secure place (τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ χωρίῳ στρατοπεδευομένοις). For *explorator/exploratio* see ad 31.9.2 (p. 155) and § 2 of this chapter.

*atque, ut mos est, ululante barbara plebe ferum et triste Romani duces aciem struxere et anteposito dextro cornu equitum primo peditatus pars maxima subsidebat* Amm. does not say from where the Goths greeted the Romans with their frightening war cries, for which cf. 16.11.8 (Alamans) *ferum ululantes et lugubre conviciis Romanos incessebant et Caesarem*, 20.6.7 (Persians) *ululabili clamore sublato*. They kept probably within the enclosure of the laager during the approach of the Roman army. It is only in 31.13.3 that Amm. reports that the barbarians ‘poured out’, presumably from the wagon camp: *effusi immensis agminibus barbari*. For the adverbial accusative “bei den Verben des Tönens und Rufens” (Kühner-Stegmann 1.281) see ad 29.5.39 (p. 198). As Seager 55 observes, “*ferus* and *feritas* refer almost exclusively to barbarians”; cf. ad 31.2.1 (p. 14). For *tristis* in the sense of ‘grim’, ‘threatening’ see ad 23.5.4 (p. 91).

The Roman commanders “deploy their troops from marching column into line of battle” (Nicasie, 1998, 247 with fig. 17). For the role of the Roman cavalry in the *Res Gestae* see Chauvot, 2012, esp. 77 ff. *Primo* without a corresponding *dein(de)* is unusual, but there are similar cases in 22.14.4 (p. 246) and 29.1.25 (p. 40). Amm. uses *subsidiere* in the meaning ‘to crouch’, as in 24.4.4 *poplitibus subsidendo*, ‘to lie in ambush’, ‘to threaten’, as in 15.2.4 *serpens foramen subsidens occultum* and 30.4.8 *subsidentium divites domus*. Here the verb is used absolutely and probably means that the infantry took up position as *subsidium* ‘support’ for the cavalry; cf. 31.7.12 *barbari...sinistrum cornu perrumpunt; quod inclinatum subsidialis robustissimus globus...sustentavit*.

- 12.12 *cornu autem equitum laevum disiectis adhuc per itinera plurimis summa difficultate conductum properabat passibus citis* The verb *conducere* is used here in its primary sense of ‘to bring together’, for which see ad 29.1.1 (p. 4), a difficult manoeuvre in this situation, because a large part of the cavalry

was still scattered on the roads. Once assembled they hastened to the battle field. For its location see ad §11 above.

*dumque idem cornu nullo etiamtum interturbante extenditur, horrendo fragore sibilantibus armis pulsuque minaci scutorum territi barbari* The verb *interturbare* is found once in Plautus and Terence, and after that in Late Latin; see ad 26.4.4 (p. 84). *Etiamtum* anticipates the disastrous events that will be reported in the next chapter. For the fearsome noise made by the soldiers either by clashing their shields against their knees or, as here, striking the shields with their spears (*pulsu minaci scutorum*) cf. 15.8.15 *militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes—quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra, cum hastis clipei feriuntur, irae documentum est et doloris*—. Cf. also Amm.'s description of the battle of Maranga in 25.1.18 (p. 33) *clipeorum sonitus et virorum armorumque lugubre sibilantium fragor*, on which Henri de Valois based his emendation of V's *simulantibus* to *sibilantibus*.

*quoniam pars eorum cum Alatheo et Safrace procul agens et accita nondum venerat, oraturos pacem misere legatos* In the notes ad 25.10.17 (p. 342), 29.1.24 (p. 38) and 29.1.32 (p. 52) it is stated that *quoniam*-clauses preceding the main verb establish a factual state of affairs, with due consequences for what is stated in the main clause. The real motive for the second peace proposal (for the first see sections 8–9 of this chapter, for the third see section 14 below) is the wish to stall whilst awaiting the arrival of the cavalry under Alatheus and Safrax (see for them ad 31.3.3, pp. 43–44; they are also mentioned together in 31.4.12 and 31.12.17). *Venerat oraturos* is Valesius' conjecture for V's *foederato raturas*; in the codex E we find *foederaturos*, a good example, according to Seyfarth, 1962, 60, "für die Zerstörung einer Satzkonstruktion durch den Schreiber E". For the part. fut. used in a final sense see ad 20.2.2 (p. 13).

*eorum dum vilitatem despicit imperator, ut firma fierent paciscenda, optimates poscens idoneos mitti, illi de industria cunctabantur* Cf. *Christiani ritus presbyter...cum aliis humilibus* in section 8 of this chapter. However, the emperor takes the second delegation more seriously than the first in that he asks for representatives with sufficient authority to negotiate a lasting peace. There is a note on *vilitas* ad 28.4.32 (p. 222). The *ut*-clause is subordinated to *poscens*. The gerundive *paciscenda* is, as often in Amm., the equivalent of a passive future participle ("le pacte à établir", tr. Sabbah); see ad 20.2.4 (p. 18), 26.9.5 (p. 250) and Pinkster I 551–552. For the use of *ille* to

12.13

mark a switch from one subject (*imperator*) to another (i.e. the Goths) see ad 29.5.39 (p. 199).

*ut inter fallaces indutias equites sui redirent, quos affore iam sperabant, et miles fervore calefactus aestivo siccis faucibus commarceret* The cessation of hostilities is called *fallax*, because the alleged reason is to send another delegation to the emperor, whereas the real reason is to play for time and to exhaust the Roman soldiers. The *equites* are the Greuthungi under the command of Alatheus and Safrax, who had probably gone foraging (§12). For *iam* with inf. fut. cf. 20.11.16 (p. 270) *exitium affore iam sperantes*; more examples in TLL VII 1.106.81–107.8. With *miles* Amm. refers to the Roman soldiers who had been on the move since early morning (§10). For the collective singular cf. August. *C.D.* 16.4 *dicitur miles et intelleguntur milia militum*; TLL VIII 945.18sq.; Szantyr 13. *Calefactus* is used literally here; TLL III 145.34 compares 24.6.12 *calefactis armis*, but see the note on pp. 190–191. The verb *commarce(sce)re* (“to become weak or enfeebled”, OLD s.v. *marcesco* 3) is found only in the *Res Gestae*; TLL III 1821.66–69.

*relucente amplitudine camporum incendiis, quos igniariis nutrimentisque aridis subditis, ut hoc fieret idem, hostes urebant. cui malo aliud quoque accedebat exitiale, quod homines et iumenta cruciabat inedia gravis* The vivid detail of the blazing fields may well have been inspired by Vergil’s magnificent line *Sigea igni freta lata relucent* (*A.* 2.312), the gen. inversus *amplitudo camporum* mirroring *freta lata*. Günther (1891, 73) ingeniously conjectured *quos igniariis* for V’s *quos ignaret* on the basis of Pliny *Nat.* 16.207–208, which describes how fire can be struck, and at the same time explains what is meant by *nutrimentis aridis subditis*: *calidae et morus, laurus, hederæ et omnia, e quibus igniaria fiunt...teritur ergo lignum ligno ignemque concipit adtritu, excipiente materie aridi fomitis, fungi vel foliorum facillimo conceptu* (“other hot woods are mulberry, laurel, ivy and all those used for making matches...two pieces of wood are rubbed together and catch fire owing to the friction, and the fire is caught in a lump of dry tinder, fungus or dead leaves catching most readily”, tr. Rackham). Similar passages in Amm. are 20.11.23 *conceptis incendiorum aridis nutrimentis* (p. 278) and 22.13.3 *ignesque aridis nutrimentis erecti*. Again Vergil has provided the model: *A.* 1.174–176 *ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates / suscepitque ignem foliis atque arida circum / nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam*. The form *accedebat* (EA) is better than V’s *accidebat*; cf. 25.7.12 *quibus exitiale aliud accessit*.

In 363, during Julian’s Persian campaign, Roman soldiers had also been plagued by hunger: *nos...inedia cruciabat iam non ferenda* (25.2.1), but the

difference with the situation sketched in the present text is significant. The hunger, which plagued Julian's soldiers on their march through enemy territory, resulted from the fact that the Persians had applied scorched earth tactics during a longer period (24.7.7 *hostes, ut inedia nos cruciarent, herbas cum adultis segetibus incenderunt*, 25.1.10 *herbis frumentisque crematis*, 25.2.1 *frugibus exustis et pabulis*), whereas on 9 August 378 the soldiers were hungry because "their anxiety-ridden emperor had forgotten to feed them" (Tannenbaum, 2016, 237). The combination *homines et iumenta*, *iumenta et homines* occurs five more times in Amm. (15.10.4, 19.8.9, 22.8.48, 24.1.3, 25.2.1).

A reference to Amm. 31.12.11–13, or at any rate to the battle of Adrianople, seems to be Veg. *mil.* 3.11.7–8 *Observatur autem, ne longo spatio fatigatum militem neve lassos post cursum equos ad publicum proelium cogas; multum virium labore itineris pugnaturus amittit. Quid faciet, qui ad aciem marcidus adventat? Hoc et veteres declinarunt et superiore vel nostra aetate, cum Romani duces per imperitiam non cavissent, ne quid amplius dicam, exercitus didicerunt* ("Beware also not to force to a pitched battle soldiers who are tired after a long march or horses that are weary from galloping. Men who are going to battle lose much of their strength from marching-fatigue. What is one to do, if he reaches the line exhausted? This is something the ancients avoided, and in later time or even our own days our armies have learned this lesson after Roman generals through lack of expertise, to say no more, failed to provide against it", tr. Milner, adapted); cf. Charles, 2008, 227–228.

*Inter quae Fritigernus, callidus futuri coniator Martemque pertimescens accipitem, velut caduceatorem unum e plebe suo misit arbitrio* V's *futuro* is best emended to *futurorum*, since Amm. regularly writes the plural in such phrases: 20.4.19 *futuraque celeri providens corde*, 21.6.3 *Constantius futurorum quoque praescius exultabat*, 28.3.6 *militari scientia...futura coniciens*. "*Coniator* ist ein term. techn. der Divination; ThLL IV 313, 71" (Bitter 108 n. 322). For the metonymous use of *Mars* 'war' see ad 23.5.20 (p. 123), 24.4.24 (p. 133) and cf. 14.10.14 *ut Martis ambigua declinentur* and 31.15.7 *Gothi reputantes difficiles* (or rather *dissimiles*) *Martis eventus*. According to Servius *Aen.* 4.242 *secundum Livium legati pacis caduceatores dicuntur*; see ad 20.7.3 (p. 159). *Suo arbitrio* means that this time Fritigern (last mentioned by name in § 8) acted on his own initiative; cf. 22.7.6 *quem arbitrio suo Achaiae proconsulari praefecerat* (Julian) *potestate*. See for the two earlier attempts of the Goths to negotiate sections 8 and 12.

12.14

*petens nobiles quosdam et electos ad se prope diem obsides mitti, impavidus ipse † minimi litare laturus et necessaria* After Valens' rejection of two delegations as being of insufficient weight, Fritigern boldly proposes that he will come in person to negotiate with the emperor. To guarantee his own safety he demands that some senior Roman officials must come over to his camp. It is frustrating that at this crucial moment in the narrative, when last minute negotiations might have averted disaster, the text is damaged. Efforts to emend V's *minimi litare* are of two kinds, Gelenius' *munus militare*, Lindenbrog's *vim militarem* and Eyssenhardt's *minas militares* are very close to the text of V. The conjectures of Mommsen, Heraeus and Petschenig mentioned in Seyfarth's apparatus, deviate much further from the paradosis. Since no lacuna is indicated in V, the former type of minimal changes seems preferable. Of these *vim* and *minas* are incompatible with *et necessaria*. 'Willing to endure violence/threats and what is necessary' does not make sense, whereas 'willing to bring military assistance and what is necessary' is at least understandable and may be compared to the offer of the Iesalenses in 29.5.44 *Iesalensium gens fera semet dedit voluntaria auxilia praestare spondens et commeatus*. Instead of *munus militare* one might consider *munus militiae* (Amm. writes *militiae munus* in 15.2.4, 25.5.4 and 25.8.9) or *adiumenta militaria* in view of 26.10.4 *adiumenta Valenti laturus*, but the crux has to be kept.

- 12.15 *laudato probatoque formidati ducis proposito tribunus Equitius, cui tunc erat cura palatii credita, Valentis propinquus, assentientibus cunctis ire pignoris loco mature disponitur* For *propositum* see ad 20.5.4 (p. 120). Translators tend to interpret it as "proposal", but there is no convincing parallel for *propositum* in this meaning. It seems better to take it in its usual meaning "chosen mode of conduct" (OLD s.v. 2), referring to Fritigern's intention to negotiate. The sudden willingness on the part of the Romans to discuss a peaceful solution comes as a surprise; for possible reasons see Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 523, to which may be added the realisation that the Roman soldiers were exhausted. For *formidatus* cf. 20.4.7 *pugnaces numeros barbarisque iam formidatos* and 26.5.11 (Procopius) *perduellis iam formidatus*.

Amm. is the only source of information on Equitius (*PLRE* I, Equitius 1), whose death is reported in 31.13.18. Pace Rolfe n. 2 he should not be confused with the Equitius (*PLRE* I, Equitius 2) of 26.1.4. In the *Res Gestae* we meet a (former) *cura palatii* four times, apart from the present text in 14.7.19, 22.3.7 and 26.8.1; see for the function of these apparently military officers ad 22.3.7 (pp. 28–29). For *tribunus* see ad 31.8.9 (p. 151).

For relatives (most often sons) as *pignus* ("surety", OLD s.v. 1b) see TLL X 1.2125.33–48. *Mature* is best taken with *ire*. For *disponere* 'to ordain' see ad 20.4.9 (p. 74).

*quo renitente, quia semel captus ab hostibus lapsusque a Dibalto verebatur eorum irrationabiles motus, Richomeres se sponte obtulit propria ireque promiserat libens pulchrum hoc quoque facinus et viro convenire existimans forti* For *captus...lapsusque* cf. 28.6.14 *captus in suburbano lapsusque* (p. 276); see also for *labi* = *effugere* ad 26.3.3 (p. 68). Equitius had apparently been captured during the fighting near Dibaltum (31.8.9–10). The adj. *irrationabilis* is not found before Quintilian (TLL VII 2.385.2). Unreliability and unpredictability are typical characteristics of barbarians: 14.2.1 (Isaurians) *perduelles spiritus irrequietis motibus erigentes*, "inflaming their warlike spirits by restless outbreaks" (tr. Rolfe); 22.16.23 (Egyptians) *ad singulos motus excandescentes* ('hot-tempered at the slightest provocation') 27.10.5 (Alamans) *motus timebantur infidi*, "treacherous attacks were to be feared" (tr. Rolfe); 30.7.10 (Moors) *ad omnes dissensionum motus perflabiles gentes*, "whose ardour can always easily be fanned to any plan of dissension" (tr. Rolfe); 31.2.11 (Huns) *infidi inconstantes...inconsultorum animalium ritu* "faithless and unreliable...like unreasoning beasts" (tr. Rolfe).

Note the shift from perfect *obtulit* to pluperfect *promiserat* for the sake of the cursus (planus). For Richomeres see above, ad § 4 (p. 202). *Facinus* is a vox media, most often negatively qualified as *impium* (14.5.6, 15.2.6), *atrox* (27.2.9) or *dirum* (30.1.1), but in the present passage, as in 18.6.6 (ut) *ducis novi virtutifacinus assignaretur egregium*, it is used in a positive sense. *Quoque* is added to make clear that not only bravery in battle, but also the courage to go to the enemy camp is praiseworthy.

*iamque pergebat indicia dignitatis et natalium...In* view of the lacuna after *natalium* it would be better to take *iamque pergebat* as the opening words of section 16. For *iam* "de préparation", which creates tension and prepares the reader for an important development in the narrative see 28.6.12 (pp. 273–274). Lenski's interpretation of *pergebat* as "inchoative" (2002, 338 n. 109) is not quite right. Richomeres was on his way when his brave initiative was thwarted by the reckless attack of Bacurius and Cassio, reported in the next section (*pergebat* is confirmed by *eo...tendente* there). The combination of *dignitas* and *natales*, social status and noble birth, is found frequently from Apuleius onwards; cf. Apul. *Met.* 11.15 *nec tibi natales ac ne dignitas quidem...profuit*; Tert. *Apol.* 6.2 (*leges*) *quae dignitatum et honestorum natalium insignia non temere nec impune usurpari sinebant*. Richomeres needed these



“proofs of his rank and birth” (tr. Rolfe) to meet with Fritigern’s request that *nobiles quosdam et electos* should be sent to him as hostages (§14). After *natalium* V indicates a lacuna of some twenty letters, probably because of the loss of a participle on which *indicia* depended. Češka’s *suorum ostentaturus* will do (1974, 110).

- 12.16 *eo ad vallum hostile tendente Sagittarii et Scutarii, quos Bacurius Hiberus quidam tunc regebat et Cassio* For *tendere ad* ‘to hasten to’ see ad 25.4.24 (p. 165). The *vallum* must be the laager (*carpenta*, §11) in which the barbarians had entrenched themselves.

*Scutarii* belonged to the *scholae palatinae*, the imperial guard. They are often mentioned in the *Res Gestae*, inter alia in 31.8.9 (p. 151) and 31.10.20 (p. 176). Since *Scutarii* and *Sagittarii* are here mentioned in one breath, it is most probable that the *Sagittarii* of the present text also belonged to the *scholae palatinae* (so e.g. Jones 1253 n. 11, Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 288; for other *sagittarii* see e.g. ad 21.11.2, pp. 148–149 and 31.12.2, p. 200), and that they are the same as the *Scutarii Sagittarii* of *Not. Dign. Or.* 11.7 (*Scola scutariorum sagittariorum*). Another possibility would be that they should be identified with the *Tertii Sagittarii Valentis* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 5.56) or the *Sagittarii Dominici* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 6.56), both *auxilia palatina* created by Valens (cf. Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 169–170, 239–241, 502–503 and Lenski, 2002, 317 n. 322). Lenski, 2002, *ibid.* and 365 n. 226, in view of the fact that the Hiberian Bacurius was their commanding officer, suggests that the *Sagittarii* should probably be associated with the *Hiberi* of *Not. Dign. Or.* 5.60.

We have no further knowledge of Cassio (*PLRE* I, Cassio); Bacurius was a Hiberian king, or rather, prince (cf. A. Lippold in *Gnomon* 46 [1974] 271–272), who made an impressive career in the Roman army. After the battle of Adrianople he became *dux Palaestinae*, *comes domesticorum* and, probably, *magister militum vacans* (references in *PLRE* I, Bacurius). Whether or not *Them. Or.* 8.116 c alludes to him is disputed (ἦδη τις τὰ σκήπτρα ὑπεριδὼν τὰ πατρῶα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀφανοῦς βασιλείας, μετανάστης ἦκει δορυφορήσων, “there is a man who, rejecting his ancestral throne—and that of no obscure kingdom—has come as a wanderer to bear arms”, tr. Moncur, slightly adapted). Hoffmann, 1978, 314 with n. 19 and Heather and Matthews, 1991, 23, 31 n. 56 associate this reference with Bacurius, but Lenski, 2002, 171 n. 100, following Seeck, with King Pap of Armenia. See for the kingdom of Hiberia, which was situated between the Caucasus mountains and Armenia in modern southern Georgia, ad 21.6.8 (p. 90) and 27.12.4 (pp. 273–274). Since officers of the *scholae palatinae* are usually called *tribuni* by Amm. (ten times), the expression of the present text *qui regebat* presumably refers to this rank.

Compare 14.10.8 with 14.11.11 (*Scudilonem Scutariorum rectorem* and *Scudilo Scutariorum tribunus*, respectively), and 25.10.9 with Hier. *Chron.* a. 364 (*Valentiniano...regenda Scutariorum secunda committitur schola* and *Valentinianus tribunus Scutariorum*, respectively).

*avidius impetu calenti progressi iamque adversis conexi, ut immature proruperant, ita inertī discessu primordia belli foedarunt* Amm. condemns the lack of forethought on the part of Bacurius and Cassio with the words *avidius*, *calenti*, and *immature*. The phrase *impetu calenti* is reminiscent of *pro-caci quodam calore* in section 3, with which Amm. had described Valens' decision not to wait for Gratian before attacking the Goths. As Bitter 107 n. 320 points out, *calens* in a military sphere is further only found in Claud. *carm. min.* 29.49 *pugnas...calentes*. This is the only instance of *conectere* = *manus conferre* mentioned in TLL IV 166.60–61. Amm. may have had συμπλέκεσθαι in mind, which is often used in this meaning, e.g. D.S. 13.72.7 οἱ δ' ἰππεῖς συμπλακέντες ἀλλήλοις...διηγωνίζοντο. For *adversus* in the sense of *adversarius* see TLL I 865.24–27, where parallels are quoted from Sallust (*Jug.* 97.5 *contra advorsos acerrume pugnantes*), Livy and Tacitus. Bacurius and Cassio do not only start the fighting without thinking, they also leave the battle field in a cowardly flight, which bodes ill for the battle to come. For *primordia belli* cf. Sil. 15.515, 17.329; Stat. *Ach.* 2.247, *Theb.* 3.236, 6.171, 7.1; Curt. 9.6.17 (*a primordiis belli*). TLL VI 1.998.70 glosses *foedare* as “infaustum reddere”, quoting as a parallel Liv. 3.32.4 *multiplici clade foedatus annus* and Luc. 1.558–559 *dirasque diem foedasse volucres* “birds of ill omen cast a gloom upon the daylight” (tr. Duff).

*hocque impedimento conatus intempestivi et Richomeris alacritas fracta est nusquam ire permissi* The *conatus intempestivus* is the untimely attack of Bacurius and Cassio (cf. *immature* in the preceding section). For *alacer/alacritas* denoting the fighting spirit of soldiers see ad 24.1.1 (p. 2). Here it refers to Richomer's bravery in going to the enemy's camp (§15–16). The present use of *permittere* belongs under the heading in TLL X 1.1561.4–9 “respicitur actio, qua aliquis...sinitur facere aliquid” of which the passive forms “vergunt hic illic in notionem q. e. posse”. In such cases the Agents of the verb is not a person, but rather the situation or the circumstances. TLL quotes as instances of this use 16.11.6 (Germani) *ideo labi permissi* (‘could escape’), *quod Bainobaudes tribunus et Valentinianus...iter observare sunt vetiti, unde redituros didicere Germanos*; Isid. *nat.* 10.3 (sol) *nimum his locis facit fervorem, ita ut (ibi)...nec homines propter nimium ardorem habitare permittantur*. The translation should therefore be ‘who could not

go anywhere', rather than "who was not allowed to go at all" (Rolfe) or "denn man gestattete ihm keinen Zugang" (Seyfarth).

*et equitatus Gothorum cum Alatheo reversus et Safrace Halanorum manu permixta ut fulmen prope montes celsos excussus, quoscumque accursu veloci invenire comminus potuit, incitata caede turbavit* In §12 Amm. had reported that Fritigern had sent for the Goths under Alatheus and Safrax, who at that time were still a long way off (*pars eorum cum Alatheo et Safrace procul agens et accita nondum venerat*). As to *Halanorum manu permixta*, it was in 31.8.4 that we heard for the first time of an alliance between Goths and Alans: (Goths) *adacti necessitate postrema Hunorum et Halanorum aliquos ad societatem spe praedarum ingentium asciverunt*; cf. 31.16.3 (Huns and Alans) *quos miris praemiorum illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia Fritigerni*. This alliance had already profited the Goths when Alans attacked Gratian's army near Castra Martis and killed some Romans (31.11.6). For the Alans in general see ad 22.8.31 (p. 125) and 31.2.12–25 (pp. 28–38).

Strangely, no editor has taken exception to *excussus*, although *excutere* 'to hurl' is regularly used of thunderbolts (30.5.16 *repentino fragore nubium fulmen excussum*, pp. 134–135; Lucr. 6.160–161 quoted there; Stat. *Theb.* 10.69 *in Thebas...excute fulmen*) whereas it is never used of cavalry. Still, it would be rash to propose to read *excussum*, for, as Bitter 109 n. 325 noted, Amm. probably had Vergil in mind: A. 11.615–616: *excussus Aconteus / fulminis in morem*, where *excussus* refers to the horseman Aconteus. This would mean that Amm. misinterpreted this phrase, since in Vergil *excussus* means 'thrown (from his horse)'. The detail *prope montes celsos* seems to belong to the comparison rather than to refer to the location of the battle (pace e.g. Runkel, 1903, 34–35), but its function is not clear. For *accursus* cf. 31.8.10 *ni eum* (Barzimeres) *equitum accursus complurium anhelum circumvenisset et fessum*. Phrases like *quoscumque invenire potuit* are topical in situations like these; cf. 14.4.1, 16.11.4, 17.1.4, 20.7.15, 31.5.8. The addition *comminus* shows that the Goths mowed the Roman foot soldiers down with their swords. For *incitatus* 'headlong', 'fierce' see ad 29.5.26 (p. 187).

## CHAPTER 13

### *Introduction*

In this chapter Ammianus relates how the Romans were defeated in the battle of Adrianople, in the course of which the emperor Valens lost his life. In the first sections Ammianus continues his report about the outbreak of the hostilities, started in the previous chapter (31.12.16–17): cavalry units broke down and were destroyed, infantry men stood unprotected and were hard pressed by the onrush of the Goths (§1–2). In §3–7 the fruitless attempts of the Roman soldiers to resist the hordes of barbarians are outlined, their heroic deaths under the burning sun, and the flight, the only hope left for those who had thus far survived the ordeal. Then Valens enters the scene. His situation was deplorable, and the general Traianus suggested, that he should be protected by his foreign auxiliaries, but when the general Victor looked for the Batavi this regiment had disappeared, whereupon Victor left the field, as did two other generals, Richomeres and Saturninus (§8–9). Subsequently Ammianus depicts the massacre inflicted by the Goths on the fleeing Romans (§10–11), while in §12–17 he gives two versions of the way in which Valens died, apparently preferring the one which relates that the emperor was burnt in the building in which he had sought shelter; his body was never found. In §18 the reader is told that hardly a third of the Roman army survived, and that among the casualties were such illustrious generals as Traianus and Sebastianus. Ammianus ends the chapter with the statement that no battle in the history of Rome except for Cannae was as disastrous as the battle of Adrianople (§19).

*Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur et tela lituosque Bellona luctuosos inflaret in clades Romanas solito immanius furens, cedentes nostri multis interclamantibus restiterunt* The use of *-que* in *Cumque* makes clear that chapters twelve and thirteen are closely connected. In fact, as Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 2, 186 n. 163, plausibly argues, the cowardly flight of the Sagittarii and Scutarii under Bacurius and Cassio, reported in 31.12.16–17, and the retreat of the Romans related by Amm. in the present section are identical. In other words, with *inerti discessu* in 31.12.16 and *cedentes nostri* in 31.13.1 Amm. refers to the same event. For different views see e.g. Judeich, 1891, 17; 13.1

Schmidt, 1941<sup>2</sup>, 411; Tannenbaum, 2016, 237–238; cf. further e.g. Burns, 1973, 342–344 and Nicasie, 1998, 248–250.

In this passage *arma* refers to weapons used in defence, i.e. shields, *tela* to spears; cf. Isid. *diff.* 39 (*arma sunt quibus defendimur, tela quae mittimus*) and *orig.* 18.5. For *concuterentur* (TLL IV 118.48 “vehementer movere, quassare, iactare, vibrare”) cf. 27.4.1 *arma concussit in Gothos* (p. 78). Book 31 opened with a reference to Bellona, the goddess and personification of war (p. 2), and now, at the beginning of the chapter which describes one of the gravest disasters in Roman history, she appears again. Blowing the war trumpets (see for *lituus* ad 31.7.10, p. 133 and cf. 19.12.1 *inflabant litui*), which caused grief among the Romans (*luctuosos*) and aimed at (*in*) their defeat (cf. 21.12.5 *concrepante sonitu buccinarum partes accensae in clades mutuas*), her frenzy was even more fierce than usual. In “finale” (TLL VII 1.736.35) occurs frequently in Late Latin (Szantyr 274). For *immanis* and *immaniter* (the comparative occurs three times in the *Res Gestae*, apart from in the present text also in 18.7.5 and 19.10.2) see ad 31.7.8 (p. 131), and for Amm.’s fondness of the abl. comparisonis *solito* ad 20.8.8 (p. 194). The Roman soldiers at first gave ground, but the encouraging shouts of many made them stand firm; TLL VII 1.2167.80–81 interprets *interclamare*, a hapax in Latin literature, as “clamando intercedere”.

*et proelium flammarum ritu accrescens terrebat militum animos confixis quibusdam rotatis ictibus iaculorum et sagittarum* The battle blazed and raged like fire. Wagner suggests a borrowing from the Iliad: ἐπὶ δὲ πτόλεμος τέτατ’ ὅσφιν / ἄγριος ἡύτε πῦρ (17.736–737) and Ὡς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο (11.596). The attentive reader is also reminded of the real fires kindled by the Goths, as reported in 31.12.13 *relucente amplitudine camporum incendiis, quos hostes...urebant*. As Viansino notes in his *Lexicon*, Amm. likes to use *ritu* to express a comparison; some examples: 29.5.53 *pecudum ritu*, 30.2.11 *dirae luis ritu*, 30.8.8 *torrentis ritu*. The combat struck fear into the soldiers when some were pierced by whirling (cf. OLD s.v. *rotare*) spears and by arrows; cf. for *confixis* 26.8.8 *sagittis et glandibus ceterisque iaculis obsidentium saepe globi confixi* and 31.6.3 *aversis...residuis et telorum varietate confixis*. Note the difference between the imperfect *terrebat* and the perfect *restiterunt* in the preceding sentence: the first describes a situation, the second an action.

- 13.2 *deinde collisae in modum rostratarum navium acies trudentesque se vicissim undarum specie motibus sunt reciproci iactitatae* The lines of battle are compared to colliding warships being tossed about like the undulating

waves of the sea, which elicited from Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 528, referring to Sabbah 558–559, the rather far-fetched remark that Amm. “présente ...la bataille d’Andrinople comme l’affrontement de l’eau—l’élément maternel, c’est-à-dire Rome—et du feu, l’élément masculin, c’est-à-dire les barbares”. As Bitter 110 n. 329 notes, warships with a battering ram are in Latin literature for the first time attested in *B. Afr.* 23.1 *cum naviculis...rostratis*. Cf. for such ships ad 26.8.8 (p. 226) *ne rostratae irruerent naves hostiles*, the only other passage in the *Res Gestae* in which *rostratus* is used. Originally, ramming with the stern was probably an Illyrian tactic (Höckmann, 2000, 136). As is noted ad 21.12.9 (p. 163), Amm. uses *vicissim*, not *invicem*, to express reciprocity. See ad 24.6.8 (p. 186) for other comparisons with *specie* + gen. *Reciprocus* is the normal adj. for receding waters and tidal movements; cf. e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1.70.1 and Plin. *Nat.* 2.213 and see further for this adj. and its derivatives ad 26.7.15 (p. 206).

*et quia sinistrum cornu ad usque plaustra ipsa accessit ultra, si qui tulissent suppetias, processurum, a reliquo equitatu desertum multitudine hostili urgente ac si ruina aggeris magni oppressum atque deiectum est* The cavalry on the Roman left wing got as far as the very wagons of the Goths (the *plaustra* of the present text are the *hostium carpenta* of 31.12.11) and would have gone farther (*ultra...processurum*), if assistance had been available (*si qui tulissent suppetias*). We can deduce from 31.12.12 *cornu...equitum laevum*, and from *a reliquo equitatu* and *pedites* in the next lemma, that the *sinistrum cornu* consisted of cavalry. Note that *ipsa* is used “to emphasize something regarded as exceptional or extreme” (OLD s.v. 9). The pronomen *qui* in *si qui tulissent* is the nom. plur. of the pronomen indefinitum *quis*, as in 26.3.1 *si qui laterent* and 31.5.10 *si qui erunt umquam*; see for indefinite and interrogative *qui/quis* also ad 31.9.5 (p. 159). For *ferre suppetias* see ad 31.7.3 (p. 125).

The left wing was left in the lurch by the rest of the cavalry (*a reliquo equitatu desertum*) and then crushed and brought down by the enemy’s superior numbers (*multitudine hostili*), as if by the collapse of a large mound. Once again Amm. stresses the numerical strength of the Goths; cf. 31.7.2 *multitudo...hostilis*, 31.7.16 (p. 139) *in numero longe minore Romanos cum copiosa multitudine colluctatos*, § 7 below *incumbente barbarorum pondere* and § 8 below *multitudo...hostilis*. For *ac si* (Heraeus’ suggestion for V’s *si*) in comparisons, see ad 25.4.12 (p. 136).

*steterunt impropecti pedites ita concatervatis manipulis, ut vix mucronem exserere aut manus reducere quisquam posset* As is noted ad 21.13.1 (p. 191), the adj. *impropectus* is found, apart from in Gel. 6.3.44 and 13.28.4, only

in Amm. (24.1.4, 26.8.10). Charles, 2008, 222–226 discusses the, in his eyes, “striking similarities” between the present text and Veg. *mil.* 1.20.2–5, stating inter alia that “Ammianus’ *improprotecti pedites* is more or less equivalent to Vegetius’ *pedites nudati*”. He correctly notes, however, that Amm.’s *improprotecti* has nothing to do with being ‘unarmed’ (Vegetius’ *nudati*), but refers to the cavalry’s failure to protect Valens’ infantry. The verb *concatervare*, ‘to pack together’, seems to have been coined by Amm. himself, since it is found only here and in 29.5.38 *concatervatis copiis*. The note ad 31.7.10 (p. 133) states, that it is uncertain whether the maniples still existed as a formal unit of the Roman army. The word *mucri* occurs four times in Book 31, apart from the present text in 31.2.9, 31.7.12 (p. 136) and 31.7.14. *Mucronem exserere* refers to the drawing of the sword, *manus reducere* to the swinging of the arm in order to throw a spear.

*nec iam obiectu pulveris caelum patere potuit ad prospectum clamoribus resultans horrificis. qua causa tela undique mortem vibrantia destinata cadebant et noxia, quod nec provideri poterant nec caveri* The fighting took place in a murky atmosphere, caused by the clouds of dust obstructing a clear view of the sky, which echoed the horrifying shouts of the soldiers. As was observed ad 21.12.22 (pp. 181–182), dust rather than mud is characteristic of the battle fields of antiquity. Note the fivefold alliteration (*pulveris...patere potuit...prospectum*) and see for the ‘auxiliary’ use of *posse* ad 29.5.45 (p. 206). Cf. for *caelum...clamoribus resultans horrificis* 19.2.11 *resultabant altrinsecus exortis clamoribus colles*. Because the soldiers were crowded together and the visibility was poor, the projectiles, which ‘propelled’ (*vibrantia*) death from all sides, hit the mark and could not be seen in advance nor guarded against. “Die Wendung *tela mortem vibrant* ist sicher eine gesuchte Brachylogie. Das...Intransitivum ‘tela vibrant’ wird durch ein inneres Objekt erweitert, das eigentlich einen ganzen Nebensatz einschließt: *tela, quae mortem minantur, vibrant*” (Bitter 111 n. 335). *Destinata cadebant et noxia* is also a kind of shorthand and stands for “cadebant et perveniunt ad destinata et nocent” (Bitter, *ibid.*).

The failure of the cavalry to stand firm, and the consequences of this for the rest of the army, are also mentioned in other sources. Cf. Oros. *hist.* 7.33.13 *ubi primo statim impetu Gothorum perturbatae Romanorum equitum turmae nuda peditum deseruere praesidia* (“As soon as the squadrons of Roman cavalry were thrown into confusion by the sudden attack of the Goths, they left the companies of infantrymen without protection”, tr. Deferrari); Hier. *Chron.* a. 379 *deserente equitum praesidio Romanae legiones a Gothis cinctae usque ad interneccionem caesae sunt* (‘failing the protection of the cavalry

the Roman legions, enclosed by the Goths, were utterly destroyed’); Socr. *HE* 4.38.9 τῶν ἱππέων προδεδωκότων καὶ οὐχ ἀψαμένων τῆς μάχης ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ τούτους περισχισθέντας πάντας ἀθρόως πεσεῖν (“when the cavalry treacherously refused to engage, the infantry were surrounded by the barbarians during the battle and completely destroyed in a body”, tr. Zenos, adapted); Soz. *HE* 6.40.3 διασπασθείσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἵππου καὶ τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τραπέντος (“his cavalry was dispersed, his infantry compelled to retreat”, tr. Hartranft).

*verum ubi effusi immensis agminibus barbari iumenta conterebant et viros et neque ad receptum confertis ordinibus laxari usquam poterat locus et evadendi copiam constipatio densior adimebat* As in the preceding section, the numerical strength of the Goths, pouring forth out of their wagon camp, is stressed; cf. for *effusi* 14.2.10 *effusae legiones*, for the superior numbers of the Goths 31.7.2 *plebi immensae* and 31.8.1 *immensas alias barbarorum catervas*. Amm. uses the verb *conterere* three times (cf. 14.6.13 and 20.8.7), but only in the present text with the meaning “diminuere, delere, consumere, vexare, conturbare” (TLL IV 683.3 et seq.). The combination of *iumenta* and *viri* is also found in 25.3.11; more common is *homines et iumenta*, e.g. 31.12.13 (p. 215); see for *iumentum*, ‘horse’, ‘mount’ ad 16.12.22 (p. 215). The result of the action of the barbarians was twofold (*neque...et*): there was, on the one hand, no room anywhere for a (collective) retreat of the closely packed ranks; on the other hand, the fact that the soldiers were densely crowded together made an (individual) escape equally impossible. For *confertus* see above, ad 31.10.4 (p. 164). There is a note on the four main meanings of *ordo* ad 20.5.7 (p. 125). The noun *constipatio* occurs in three other passages of the *Res Gestae*, 24.8.5, 26.6.14 (p. 157) and 29.1.13.

*nostri quoque ultimo cadendi contemptu occursantes receptis gladiis obtruncabant et mutuis securium ictibus galeae perfringebantur atque loricae* Like the Goths the Romans now also (*quoque*) came into action, willing to fight it out until the bitter end. “*Ultimus*...repeatedly signals a desperate situation in war” (Seager 59), cf. e.g. 31.15.4 *in desperatione rerum ultima*. Cf. for *cadendi contemptu* Tac. *Hist.* 5.5.3 *moriendi contemptus* (about the Jews). TLL IX 2.402.30–31 cites, apart from the present text, Sal. *Jug.* 85.3 and Tac. *Hist.* 2.26.2 for *occursantes* used as a noun (here ‘assailants’).

Some translators regard *gladiis* as Roman swords, taken up again (*receptis*) by their owners, who had left them unused until now, or rather, for whom it had been hardly possible to use them (*ut vix mucronem exserere...quisquam posset*, § 2): “griffen auch unsere Soldaten...wieder zum Schwert” (Sey-



farth), “ayant repris leurs glaives” (Sabbah), “riprese le spade” (Caltabiano). For *recipere* in this sense one can compare Liv. 9.11.4 *recipiant arma* and, in zeugma, Curt. 4.12.17 *pariter arma et animos recepere*. Others regard *gladiis* as a reference to Gothic swords: “received their death-blows” (Rolfe), “faced the enemy’s swords” (Hamilton). See for this interpretation e.g. Sen. *Ep.* 57.5 *alii gladium facilius recipiunt quam vident* (“Others meet the sword-stroke more readily than they see it dealt”, tr. Mott Gummere), Cic. *Sest.* 80 *Num ut gladiatoribus imperari solet, ferrum non recepit?* (“Did he not receive the stroke of the sword, as gladiators are often commanded to do?”), Cic. *Tusc.* 2.41 (Quis gladiator) *ferrum recipere iussus collum contraxit?*, (Which gladiator) “ordered to receive the fatal stroke, has ever drawn in his neck?” (tr. King), Sil. 2.679–680 *sic ense recepto / arma super ruit* (“And so she [i.e. Tiburnus’ widow] stabbed herself and fell down over the armour”, tr. Duff) and OLD s.v. 4b. Whichever interpretation one chooses, both seem preferable to Bitter’s suggestion (112 n. 337): “Ich deute den Ausdruck *receptis gladiis* als metaphorisches Metonym...ähnlich dem Livianischen *recepto animo* (44.10.1)”. The verb *obtruncare*, “i.q. caedendo, perfodiendo, amputando sim. ad truncum redigere” (TLL IX 2.295.38–39), occurs fourteen times in the *Res Gestae*, its simplex *truncare* nine times and *contruncare* four times, inter alia in 31.10.19 (p. 175). *Obtruncare* figures in the list of synonyms for ‘to kill’ in Hagendahl, 1921, 101–102.

The word *mutuis* in *mutuis securium ictibus* is interesting. It implies that not only the barbarian Goths, but also the Romans used axes as weapons in the battle of Adrianople. Roman troops did not fight with battleaxes, as De Jonge notes ad 19.6.7 (p. 114), the only other passage in which Amm. speaks of Roman soldiers who were armed with *securae*. However, Germanic soldiers serving in the Roman army may have introduced this weapon by the fourth century (Dahmlos, 1977; Southern and Dixon, 1996, 116; Bishop and Coulston, 2006<sup>2</sup>, 205, 271). Moreover, legionaries (cf. e.g. *ILS* 8949), and sometimes auxiliaries as well (18.2.6), also had to participate in building activities, and *dolabra* (20.11.21), *bipennes* (26.8.10) or *securae* were part of their standard equipment which could be used as weapons if needed. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 3.46.3 *miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora* and, with a wording similar to that of Amm. here, *Hist.* 2.42.2 *omisso pilorum iactu gladiis et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere*. For helmets of ordinary soldiers see ad 20.11.12 (p. 266; in 27.10.11 [p. 245] Amm. refers to the *galea* of emperor Valentinian), for *loricae* ad 25.1.1 (pp. 3–4). The verb *perfringere* means ‘to demolish’ (OLD s.v.), “i.q. (penitus) frangere, dirumpere vel frangendo penetrare” (TLL X 1.1406.39); cf. 23.4.7 *perfractis ossibus*.

*videreque licebat celsum ferocia barbarum genis stridore constrictis succiso poplite aut abscesa ferro dextera vel confosso latere inter ipsa quoque mortis confinia minaciter circumferentem oculos truces* In the previous sections Amm. spoke about the injuries both parties inflicted on each other; he now describes how Goths and Romans died. “Die Sterbeszenen werden bereits durch die Satzkomposition deutlich von den Verwundungsszenen abgehoben. Eine kurze Einleitung, *videre licebat* (31.13.4), oder ein Hinweis, *multa licebat...videre* (16.12.57), schaffen die nötige Distanz zu den Handlungsszenen” (Bitter 158). The adj. *celsus* is used “in malam partem, i.q. elatus, superbus” (TLL III 774.16–17), as in 27.11.2 (about Probus) *contra timidos celsior*; in 31.15.3 Amm. speaks of the ‘innate ferocity’ (*genuina ferocia*) of the Goths. The difficult phrase *genis stridore* (“sc. dentium”, TLL VI 2.1764.28–29; cf. 16.12.13 *stridore dentium infrendentes*) *constrictis* seems to mean that the Goth clasped his jaws tightly together (TLL IV 541.68–69 s.v. *constringere*: “i.q. contrahere, comprimere, coartare, in angustum cogere”) and gnashed his teeth. The expression *succiso poplite*, ‘hamstrung’, is borrowed from Vergil (A. 9.762, cf. 10.699–700) and is also found in other poets (*Laus Pis.* 76, *Stat. Th.* 9.874); cf. *succisis poplitibus* in 17.13.10 (pp. 347–348). The combination *aut...vel* occurs eight times in the *Res Gestae*, in this book also in 31.15.13; it indicates here that the portrait of the *barbarus* does not represent a particular person. The expression *confosso latere* is unique in Latin literature; De Jonge has a short note on the verb ad 18.5.7 (p. 146). For the word *confinium* see ad 25.6.4 (p. 203) and 26.1.1 (p. 3). With *minaciter circumferentem oculos truces* Ratti, 2007, 187 n. 19 aptly compares Liv. 2.10.8 *circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos*; cf. further Tac. *Ger.* 4.1 *truces et caerulei oculi*. *Trux* may indicate savagery; Seager 54.

*ruinaque confligentium mutua humi corporibus stratis campi peremptis impleti sunt et morientium gemitus profundisque vulneribus transfixorum cum timore audiebantur ingenti* “And by the fall of the combatants on both sides the plains were covered with the bodies of the slain strewn over the ground” (tr. Hamilton). V’s *mutu ad humo corporis* is evidently corrupt. Sabbah adopts the reading of Accursius and Gelenius *mutua ad humum corporibus*, but the text of Seyfarth and Rolfe with Novák’s *humi* (1896, 84) seems preferable, in view of 17.8.5 *humi prostratis* and 22.1.2 *lapposo milite...humique prostrato* (see for the locativus Szantyr 149). “Das Schluchzen der Sterbenden und Verwundeten gehört...zum Repertoire der Schlachtschilderungen” (Bitter 159 n. 504); cf. e.g. 29.5.12 *inter...gemitus mortis et vulnere* and 31.15.1 *audiebantur...singultus...morientium et vulneratorum cruciabiles fletus*. There is one other passage in the *Res Gestae* in which

Amm. uses the ptc. perf. of *transfigere*, viz. 16.12.53 *iacebant itaque plurimi transfixi letaliter*. Note that this section began with a reference to the sense of sight (*videreque licebat*) and refers at the end to that of hearing (*cum timore audiebantur ingenti*).

- 13.5 *in hoc tanto tamque confusae rei tumultu exhausti labore et periculis pedites, cum deinceps neque vires illis neque mentes suppetere ad consilium, diffractis hastarum plerisque collisione assidua gladiis contenti dstrictis in confertas hostium turmas mergebant salutis immemores circumspectantes ademptum esse omne evadendi suffugium* The Roman infantry men were exhausted 'by toil and danger' (the combination *labore et periculis* is, apart from in the present text, only found in Cic. *Fam.* 12.14.7) and lacked the mental and physical strength to devise 'a well considered plan of action' (*consilium*). See for *deinceps* as a synonym of *postea* ad 20.8.3 (p. 185). Having lost most of their lances they had to rely on their drawn swords (cf. for the swords above: § 2 *ut vix mucronem exserere...quisquam posset* and, possibly, § 3 *receptis gladiis*). In 25.1.8 Amm. speaks of *hastis...diffractis* in a totally different context: the breaking of the lances there was a disciplinary measure against a cavalry unit which had failed to do its duty. *Collisio* is a hapax in the *Res Gestae*.

As is noted ad 31.5.8 above (p. 92), *turma* normally refers to a Roman cavalry unit, but it is used occasionally, as in the present text, of mounted enemy forces. According to Oros. *hist.* 7.33.14 the enemy forces surrounded the Roman legionaries on all sides and assailed them with showers of arrows: *legiones peditum undique equitatu hostium cinctae ac...nubibus sagittarum obrutae*. The Romans 'plunged into' (*mergebant*) the Gothic *turmae*, despite the consequences for their lives (cf. Curt. 7.9.12 *in hostem salutis inmemores ruere coeperunt*) and aware that no escape routes were left (see for *suffugium* ad 21.12.11, p. 165). About the meaning of *mergebant* there can hardly be any doubt (TLL VIII 833.79: "i.q. irruere, se immiscere"), but what to make of V's *mergebant de*? Various suggestions have been put forward, duly listed in the app. crit. (*mergebant se*, *se demergebant*, *sese mergebant*, *se immergebant*), to which, however, Seyfarth's proposal (n. 141 in his bilingual edition), adopted by Sabbah and Viansino, is preferable: "Das überlieferte *mergebant* ist vielleicht beizubehalten, in Analogie zu anderen Verben der Bewegung in intransitivem Sinn, z. B. *immittere* 19, 11, 16".

- 13.6 *et quia humus rivis operta sanguineis gressus labiles evertibat, conabantur modis omnibus vitam impendere non inultam adeo magno animorum robore oppositi incumbenibus, ut etiam telis quidam propriis interirent* The soil (*humus*) had become slippery because of the streams of blood, thereby

making people stumble. Viansino in his notes (p. 642) points to Verg. *A.* 11.668–669 (about Euneus) *sanguinis ille vomens rivos cadit atque cruentam / mandit humum* (“he fell, choking forth rivers of blood, chewed the gory earth”, tr. Jackson Knight). For *gressus* see above, ad 31.7.11 (p. 134), for *evertere* TLL V 2.1027.50 sqq. gives the following definition: “vertere ita, ut quae stant aut ex una parte certo in loco stabilita sunt prouant, concidant, collabuntur, i.q. prosternere sim.” (but cf. 1028.83 sqq.). The Roman soldiers tried in every possible way to sell their lives dearly. The expression *modis omnibus*, which is very common in Late Latin, is also used in 17.9.1, 21.1.1 and 27.63; in classical Latin the usual order is *omnibus modis*. For *vitam impendere* cf. Tac. *Ann.* 12.65.1 *verum ita de se meritum Caesarem, ut vitam usui eius impenderet* sc. Narcissus (‘but he was so much indebted to the Emperor, that he was prepared to sacrifice his life, if this would help him’). As to *non inultam*, Bitter 155 n. 485 reminds us of *cavete inulti animam amittatis* (Sal. *Cat.* 58.21).

The Romans resisted the attackers with such determination (cf. *robre animorum* in Liv. 28.14.5) that some perished by the weapons of their fellow soldiers, presumably because they had penetrated into the ranks of the Goths. For the meaning of *incumbere* (the participle is used as a noun) Bitter 114 n. 345 points to TLL VII 1.1074.44: “i.q. irruere, c. impetu se inferre, aggredi”.

*atra denique cruoris facie omnia conturbante et, quocumque se inflexerant oculi, acervis caesorum aggestis exanimata cadavera sine parsimonia calcabantur* See on *denique* ad 25.6.7 (p. 208). TLL II 1019.4 sqq. lists many examples for *ater* as the color of blood, inter alia Hor. *Epod.* 17.31–32, Verg. *A.* 4.687 and 9.333–334. For the striking enallage *atra...cruoris facie* see Bitter 114 n. 347. This figure does not occur very frequently in the *Res Gestae*, but it is not unusual either; some examples: 20.10.2 *scruposa* (p. 239), 26.1.4 *obscuris* (p. 18), 30.4.6 *civilibus* (p. 75); Blomgren 146–147. Whereas *sanguis* usually denotes blood inside a body, *cruor* is used about “blood spilt in battle” (OLD s.v. 1b). In 19.1.9 Amm. also spoke of “heaps of slain” (Rolfe, Hamilton); *per acervos caesorum*. Cf. for the alliterating combination *cadavera...calcabantur* 15.4.12 *calcantes cadaverum strues* and see for *calcare* also 24.6.15 *calcatasque ruinas hostilium corporum* (pp. 194–195). Amm. is fond of the expression *sine parsimonia*. Apart from five times in the *Res Gestae*, it is only found in Plin. *Nat.* 12.62.

*solque sublimior decurso Leone ad domicilium caelestis Virginis transiens Romanos magis attenuatos inedia sitique confectos etiam armorum gravan-* 13.7

*tibus sarcinis exurebat* Amm. apparently imitates Sol. 37.3 *tenuatur* (sc. Euphrates) *cum iam Leone decurso ad extima Virginis curricula facit transitum*. The traditional dates for the rise and setting of the signs of the Lion and the Virgin are 23 (or 24) July / 22 (or 23) August, and 23 (or 24) August / 22 September, respectively. For *domicilium* used of the signs of the Zodiac cf. 20.3.2 (p. 31) *in domicilio eiusdem signi* and 26.1.13 *per quae duodecim siderum domicilia sol discurrens*.

The sun burning, high in the sky, exhausted the Romans more (*magis*) than the barbarians. The unfavourable circumstances, with which the Roman soldiers had to cope, were already mentioned in 31.12.13: heat (*miles fervore calefactus aestivo*), thirst (*siccis faucibus*) and hunger (*inedia gravis*). For *attenuare* cf. 31.3.8 *populi pars maior, quae Athanaricum attenuata necessariorum penuria deseruerat* and Caes. Civ. 3.89.1 (legio) *proeliis vehementer adtenuata*. The 'burden of their armour' made things worse for the soldiers; cf. Liv. 32.12.6 *peditem armorum gravitas impediit*, Caes. Gal. 5.16.1 *nostros propter gravitatem armorum minus aptos esse ad huius generis hostem*. The meaning of *sarcinae* here differs from that in 13.12.10 *impedimentis et sarcinis* ('baggage') *prope Hadrianopoleos muros... collocatis*. The thought, expressed by Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 532, referring to Sabbah 561, that "la présence dominatrice et cruelle du Soleil suggère l'idée d'une vengeance d'Hélios-Roi, le grand dieu de Julien, délaissé après la mort de l'Apostat" seems far-fetched (and is rightly rejected by Marié, 1989, 190).

*ad ultimum incumbente barbarorum pondere acies inclinatae nostrorum, quod solum postremis malis habuere subsidium, incondite, qua quisque poterat, vertuntur in pedes* Finally the resistance of the Romans broke down. "Man darf...sicher die Behauptung wagen, daß Ammian seine ganze Schilderung darauf angelegt hat, die Niederlage zu verbrämen und Verständnis für die spätere Flucht zu wecken" (Bitter 115). Throughout this chapter the bravery of the common soldier is stressed. For *incumbere* see ad § 6, for *pondus* "de multitudine pugnantium" (TLL X 1.2627.4) ad 20.7.15 (p. 172); cf. also § 2 above for the emphasis on the numerical strength of the Goths. There is a note on *incondite*, which occurs five times in the *Res Gestae*, ad 22.6.2 (p. 65), and it is noted ad 26.9.8 (p. 254) that the expression *verti in pedes*, 'to take to flight', is found exclusively in Amm.

- 13.8 *Dumque omnes dispersi per ignotos tramites cedunt, imperator diris pavoribus circumsaeptus paulatimque insiliens funerum moles ad Lancearios confugit et Mattiarios* At this point, for the first time in Amm.'s description of the battle of Adrianople, Valens enters the scene (cf. for the term *imperator*

in Amm. ad 20.4.4, p. 45), and he cuts a poor figure. For the baleful connotation of *dirus* in *diris pavoribus circumsaeptus* (“cerné par une terrible panique”, tr. Sabbah) see ad 26.10.5 (p. 275) and cf. 31.1.3 *diris terroribus*; for *pavor* “structurae indicantes, quid timeatur” see TLL X 1.841.54sq. It is only here that Amm. uses *circumsaeptus* metaphorically; normally Valens would have been surrounded by the military paraphernalia belonging to his rank (cf. 26.2.11 *circumsaeptum aquilis et vexillis*) and by his bodyguard (cf. *desertus ab armigeris princeps* in the next lemma).

Did the emperor go on foot amidst the heaps of corpses, as some translators seem to think, cf. e.g. “slowly treading over” (Rolfe), “sautant, pas à pas” (Sabbah)? This is not likely. Seyfarth’s “ritt” is no doubt correct. Compare what Amm. says about the escape of the Alamannic king Chnodomarius after the battle of Argentoratum in 357 (and see ad § 9 about Victor). In 16.12.58 we read that the king, *lapsus per funerum strues*, hastily went to his camp (*celeritate rapida properabat ad castra*), while in 16.12.59 it becomes clear that he did this on horseback (*equo est evolutus*). For *funus* “i.q. cadaver, corpus mortuum” see TLL VI 1.1605.36sq. *Insilire*, found twice in the *Res Gestae*, is here used with acc., but in 30.5.19 (p. 138) with dat. This seems a strong argument to read with E *paulatim transiliens*, or rather, with Accursius, *paulatimque transiliens*. The adverb *paulatim* suggests, that the emperor made his horse step carefully over the dead bodies. See TLL X 1.821.51sq. “(accedit) ad verba movendi, cedendi sim.”, Sis. *hist.* 34 (milites in pugna) *paulatim recedunt*; cf. also 29.5.29 (p. 190) and 31.8.5 (p. 146). As to the *Lancearii* and *Mattarii*, these legions were also mentioned together in 21.13.16 (pp. 212–213).

*qui, dum multitudo tolerabatur hostilis, fixis corporibus steterant inconcussi. eoque viso Traianus exclamat, spem omnem absumptam, ni desertus ab armigeris princeps saltim adventicio tegetetur auxilio* For *multitudo...hostilis* cf. *multitudine hostili* in § 2 above (p. 223). The pluperfect *steterant* attracts attention: is the implication that the legions had stood unshaken as long as they could hold out against the multitude of the enemy, but that they now also had given up their resistance? The last time the general Traianus was mentioned was in 31.12.1 (p. 199). Theoretically, the *armigeri*, the imperial bodyguards, never left the emperor’s side (Frank, 1969, 141; see further ad 24.5.6, p. 160), but the present text shows that theory and practice do not always go hand in hand; see also below, ad § 14 about the *candidati*. As is confirmed in the next section by the mentioning of *Batavi*, Amm. refers with *adventicio...auxilio* to foreign auxiliaries; cf. TLL I 834.83sq. and see for *adventicius* also ad 23.2.1 (p. 21).

- 13.9 *hocque audito Victor nomine comes Batavos in subsidiis locatos haud procul ad imperatoris praesidium raptim cogere properans, cum invenire neminem posset, gradiens retro discessit. parique modo Richomeres periculo semet exemit et Saturninus* This is the last time that the general Victor makes his appearance in the *Res Gestae*. In this book we saw him before in 31.7.1 (pp. 120–121) and 31.12.6. In the latter passage Amm. reported that he advised Valens to wait for the arrival of Gratian with his troops; see the note ad loc. (pp. 203–204) for the addition of *nomine* to Victor's name. Note that in 31.7.1 and 31.12.6 he is called *magister equitum*, but in the present text *comes*, which has its parallel in 30.2.4 (*magistrum equitum*) and 30.2.7 (*comes*). Victor is also called *comes* in 24.4.13 and 24.6.4. See for this title Scharf, 1994.

The *Batavi*, who were stationed as reserves not far away (cf. 24.6.8 *in subsidiis manipuli locati sunt peditum*), belonged to the *auxilia palatina*; Amm. mentions them also in 16.12.45 (pp. 259–260), 20.1.3 (p. 7), 20.4.2, 27.1.6 (p. 11) and 27.8.7. Presumably, these *Batavi* had come from the West to Thrace under the command of Richomeres (cf. ad 31.12.4, p. 202), as Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 1, 472 suggests. The fact that they had all gone when Victor tried to find them (*cum invenire neminem posset*) is another blot on the escutcheon of this regiment, whose standard had once been taken by Alamans (27.1.6, pp. 10–11). When Victor saw that his fast and speedy course of action (*raptim...properans*) was to no avail, he rode back and left, as Theodosius the Elder had done in a hopeless situation: *gradiens retro paulatim...abscessit* (29.5.29, pp. 190–191). Cf. Zos. 4.24.3 Τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ἐπὶ λεπτοτάτης ἐστῶτων ἐλπίδος, Βίκτωρ ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἡγούμενος ἱππικοῦ, τὸν κίνδυνον ἅμα τισὶν ἱππεῦσι διαφυγών, ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ Θεσσαλίαν ἐλάσας κάκειθεν ἐπὶ Μυσσοῦς καὶ Παίονας ἀναδραμών, αὐτόθι διατρίβοντι τῷ Γρατιανῷ τὸ συμβὰν ἀπαγγέλλει καὶ τὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπώλειαν (“The position seemed hopeless. Victor, the Magister Equitum, escaping from the danger with some of his men, rode through Macedonia, Thessaly and Moesia to Pannonia to tell Gratian, who resided there, what had happened and of the loss of the emperor and the army”, tr. Ridley, slightly adapted), with Paschoud's n. 150 about “l'itinéraire...hautement fantaisiste” of Victor in Zosimus' account, Gratian being in *Martis castra* (31.11.6, p. 193). As to *gradiens*, the usual meaning of *gradior* is “to make one's way on foot” (OLD s.v.). However, as in the case of Valens in § 8, it is likely that Victor left on horseback, as is also made clear by the quoted passage of Zosimus.

In the expression *periculo semet exemit* it is not clear whether *eximere* is combined with the dat. or the abl.; see for this ad 21.12.11 (pp. 164–165) and Bitter 116 n. 352 and 161 n. 514. We do not hear of any official functions

of Victor after 378, but Gratian's *comes domesticorum* Richomeres and the *magister equitum* Saturninus continued their careers. Richomeres, who had been sent in advance by Gratian to Valens (31.12.4) and who was also mentioned in 31.7.4 (p. 125), 7.5, 8.2, 12.4, 12.15 and 12.17, became *comes et magister utriusque militiae* after Adrianople and was consul in 384. Saturninus was consul in 383; see for him 31.8.3 (p. 144) and 31.8.5.

*Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari nostros iam liquente venarum calore torpentes* For *sequi*, 'to pursue', see above, ad 31.9.1 (p. 154). For the sake of the *cursus Heraeus* proposed *elucente* instead of V's *lucente*. He was followed by Clark, but Seyfarth returned to V's reading, as did Rolfe, Sabbah and Viansino. In justification of *elucente*, however, Fletcher, 1937, 398 pointed to 16.12.36 *elucebat quidam ex oculis furor*. For the ascription of *furor* to barbarians see ad 30.10.3 (p. 201) and cf. *furore...urgente cruento* (31.5.9). 13.10

The Romans were paralysed (*torpentes*, cf. 28.1.14 *rerum atrocitate torpentibus cunctis*), because 'the heat in their veins left them', that is, because their fighting spirit cooled down. Instead of V's *liquente* one should read with e.g. Gelenius *linquente* (which is also adopted by TLL III 181.28 and VII 2.1462.55). Cf. Sil. 9.51 *quam subitus linquat pallentia corpora sanguis* and Curt. 8.4.8 *Nec fallebat ipsos morti locum eligere se cum immobilis vitalis calor linqueret* ("But it did not escape them that they were choosing a place to die, since when they ceased to move, the vital heat left them", tr. Rolfe). Warmth and moisture were in the thought of the Ancients associated with life, coldness and dryness with death (Onians, 1988, 255–256); cf. Potter, 2005 and Stamatu, 2005. *Venarum calor* can refer to fever (*urgente calore nimio venas*, 21.15.2), its equivalent *calor sanguinis* to blushing (Isid. *orig.* 19.7.3) and intoxication (Hier. *epist.* 52.11), but also to the fervour of soldiers, as in Macr. *Sat.* 1.19.6 *in summa pronuntiandum est effectum solis, de quo fervor animorum, de quo calor sanguinis excitatur, Martem vocari* ("in short, one must maintain that the activity of the sun which fires the spirits and inflames the blood is called Mars", tr. Davies).

*quorum aliqui percussoribus cadebant incertis, nonnulli ponderibus solis urgentium obruti ictuque suorum aliqui trucidati; nec enim saepe renitentibus cedebatur aut parcebat cedentibus quisquam* The subst. *percussor*, which occurs twice in the *Res Gestae* and often means 'murderer' or 'executioner' (TLL X 1.1236.22–27; cf. 29.1.40), is well chosen: the Goths had free play in killing their opponents. With *incertis* Amm. may refer to section 3 above about *tela*: *nec provideri poterant nec caveri*. For *ponderibus solis urgentium*



*obruiti* cf. 19.11.12 *ponderibus superruentium solis afflicti*. As to *ictu...suorum aliqui trucidati*, note the difference with the situation in §6, where we read that some Romans perished by the weapons of their comrades while opposing the enemy, whereas here some are killed during their flight. As is noted ad 20.4.18 (p. 100), Amm. has more than fifteen instances of *reniti*, a verb which is used, apart from in Liv. 5.49.2, only in post-classical authors, although not with great frequency. Valesius, pointing to 14.2.2 *ne cedentium quidem ulli parcendo*, rightly saw that V's *caedentibus* should be altered to *cedentibus*.

- 13.11 *super his obstruebant itinera iacentes multi semineces cruciatus vulnerum non ferentes, cum quibus aggeres quoque equorum constrati cadaveribus campos implerunt* Cf. 31.13.4 and 31.15.1 for similar sentences. For *semineces* see ad 31.15.13 (p. 274). Elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*, e.g. in 31.13.6, *cadaver* refers to human beings.

*diremit haec numquam pensabilia damna, quae magno rebus stetere Romanis, nullo splendore lunari nox fulgens* Cf. for *dirimere* in a temporal sense 19.8.1 (p. 148) *nocte proelia dirimente* and for the exact opposite of *nullo splendore lunari nox fulgens* 24.5.8 (p. 162) *nox casu tunc lunari splendore nitens*. The present text is the only one cited in TLL X 1.1099.45–47 s.v. *pensabilis* “i. quod potest pensari, compensari”. *Numquam pensabilia damna* is surprising for an author, who only a few pages before had reminded his readers that Rome always recovered from disasters: *post calamitosa dispendia res in integrum sunt restituae* (31.5.14, p. 101), but of course, the losses of the Roman army were enormous: *constat...vix tertiam evasisse exercitus partem* (31.13.18). With a complement in the abl. the verb *stare* means “to stand at the price (of), to cost”, OLD s.v. 23.

- 13.12 *Primaque caligine tenebrarum inter gregarios imperator, ut opinari dabatur—neque enim vidisse se quisquam vel praesto fuisse asseveravit—, sagitta perniciose saucius ruit* Amm. probably adds *tenebrarum* to *caligine* (‘darkness’) to emphasize that Valens died around the first phase of nightfall. Valens’ presence amongst the rank and file was perhaps meant to safeguard his incognito, but the addition of *neque enim vidisse se quisquam vel praesto fuisse asseveravit* to the expression *ut opinari dabatur* makes it abundantly clear that the report about the emperor’s death is only based on conjecture. *Ut opinari dabatur* occurs only in Amm.; see ad 21.4.5 (p. 222), 24.8.5 (p. 230), 26.1.7 (p. 26) and 26.10.16 (p. 299). Cf. for *sagitta perniciose saucius ruit* (“fell mortally wounded by an arrow”, tr. Rolfe) 19.2.9 *saucii perniciose*

*cadebant*; the verb *ruere* with the meaning “to fall” (OLD s.v. 6c), is also found in 19.5.6 *graviter vulnerati ruebant* and 28.5.2 *milites quosdam ruisse*. We find the combination of *sagitta* and *saucius* in the description of Valens’ death also in *epit.* 46.2 *sagittis saucius* and in Hier. *Chron.* a. 378, but note the verb in the latter’s text: *cum sagitta saucius fugeret*.

*spirituque mox consumpto decessit nec postea repertus est usquam. hostium enim paucis spoliandi gratia mortuos per ea loca diu versatis nullus fugatorum vel accolarum illuc adire est ausus* Lib. *Or.* 1.179 about Valens’ death says this: πεσόντος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ προθυμίας μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης συμβαλόντος (“and he fell, delivering his attack with more ardour than skill”, tr. Norman). In 31.16.2 Amm. reports that after the Goths had left the surroundings of Adrianople, it was still not generally known that Valens had died. The fact that the emperor’s body was never found (cf. § 17 *certum est nec Scipioni nec Valenti sepulturam...contigisse*) is amply attested. Cf. Eun. *VS* 7.6.9 οὐδὲ ὅστέον εἰς ἀναίρεσιν εὐρέθη (“not even a bone was found to bury”, tr. Wright); Zos. 4.24.3 (quoted ad § 14); Socr. *HE* 4.38.10 ἐνθα δὴ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀγνοηθῆναι κείμενον (‘there he fell, it is said, and could not be identified’); Hier. *Chron.* a. 378: *Ipse imperator Valens...sepultura...caruit*; Oros. *hist.* 7.33.15 *communi caruit sepultura*; Consul. *Constant.* a. 378 *ex ea die Valens Augustus nusquam apparuit*. Libanius (*Or.* 24.4) has the following story: ἀλλὰ τοῦτο (sc. the trails of blood) μὲν ἀνεῖλον ὄμβροι καὶ χρόνος, σώζονται δὲ οἱ τῶν ὁστῶν κολωνοί. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὁστοῖς τούτοις ἐνεῖναι φασὶ καὶ τὰ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις σχήμασιν. ἐν μέσοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς μαχόμενος ἔπεσε παρόντων μὲν ἵππων τῶν βασιλείων οἷς ὅσον μέτεστι τάχους οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν, παρεχόντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἵπποκόμων καὶ δεομένων ἀναβάντα φυλάξαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἑαυτόν, ὁ δ’ εἰπὼν, ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον ζῆν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοις κειμένοις, ἀντὶ τάφου τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ κατενεχθέντων ἔσχε (“Rain and time have erased those stains, but the piles of bones remain, and among them, so it is said, you can see those of generals and colonels and those of lesser rank, and in the midst of them the emperor fell fighting. The emperor’s horses were there, and we know how swift they can be, and the grooms offered them to him, begging him to mount and save himself for the empire, but he replied that it was wrong to live on after so many had fallen, and so he got, instead of a tomb, the massed heaps of the slain above him”, tr. Norman).

Günther’s conjecture (1888, 60) *hostium enim <non> paucis* deserves more attention than it has received. Palaeographically the change is minimal, the insertion of *non* makes it easier to understand why the fugitives or the natives were afraid to approach, and *non pauci* is rather common (in Amm. we find it also in 15.9.7, 31.6.6, 31.8.10 and 31.10.14).

13.13 *simili clade Caesarem accepimus Decium dimicantem cum barbaris acriter equi lapsu prostratum, quem ferventem retinere non valuit, abiectumque in paludem nec emergere potuisse nec inveniri* The death of the emperor Decius (and of his son) had already been mentioned in 31.5.16 (p. 103) *ceciderunt dimicando cum barbaris imperatores Decii pater et filius*, but without the details Amm. provides here, some of which we also find in *epit.* 29.3 *In solo barbarico inter confusas turbas gurgite paludis submersus est, ita ut nec cadaver eius potuerit inveniri*; Lact. *mort. pers.* 4.3; Zos. 1.23.3 τοῦ δὲ Γάλλου (i.e. Trebonianus Gallus) διὰ τοῦ τέλματος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁρμήσαι τῷ Δεκίῳ σημῆναντος, ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν τόπων ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπελθὼν, ἐμπαγείς τε ἅμα τῇ σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμει τῷ πηλῷ καὶ πανταχόθεν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκοντιζόμενος μετὰ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ διεφθάρη, διαφυγεῖν οὐδενὸς δυνηθέντος (“Following Gallus’ signal to attack the enemy through the swamp and pressing on thoughtlessly in unfamiliar terrain, both he and his army were caught in the mud and assailed on all sides by the barbarians. Decius and his whole army perished to a man”, tr. Ridley, slightly adapted); cf. further Zonar. 12.20. As to *Caesar*, there are two passages in Amm. where this term (for literature see ad 20.4.5, p. 63) without further qualification refers to a reigning emperor, 24.2.21 and 25.7.6; it would seem that the present text can be added to these examples, rather than that it should be seen as referring to Decius junior (cf. Béranger, 1976, 55: “Le nom de “César” différencie peut-être le fils”).

13.14–16 The alternative version of Valens’ death, reported in sections 14–16, implies that the wounded emperor did not die immediately, but was transported to a farmer’s house, where he was burned. Since this version of Valens’ last moments is far more detailed than that of § 12, Amm. probably finds it more credible. Moreover, as Lenski, 2002, 340 notes, his reference in 31.1.2 to the portentous cries of “*vivus ardeat Valens*” by the Antiochenes before Valens’ death may indicate Amm.’s preference for the alternative version. Finally, whereas Amm. expresses ample doubts about the first version (*ut opinari dabatur—neque enim vidisse se quisquam vel praesto fuisse asseveravit*, § 12), in § 16 he at least refers to an eyewitness in the person of one of Valens’ bodyguards (*is ipse iuvenis...haec ita accidisse narravit*). Nevertheless, the use of *tamen* in § 17 indicates that Amm. regards the second version also as probably suspect.

We find both versions, with some differences, also in Socr. *HE* 4.38.8–10: Καὶ οἱ μὲν πυρί φασιν ἀπολέσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς κώμην καταφυγόντα τινά, ἣν ἐπιδραμόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνέπρησαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμείψαντα τὸ βασιλικὸν σχῆμά φασιν αὐτὸν εἰς μέσον τὸ στίφος τῶν πεζῶν εἰσδραμεῖν (“Some have asserted that he

was burnt to death in a village whither he had retired, which the barbarians assaulted and set on fire. But others affirm that having put off his imperial robe he ran into the midst of the main body of infantry", tr. Zenos); for the sequel see ad section 2 of this chapter.

Other authors only mention Valens' death by fire, e.g. *epit.* 46.2 *Valens... sagittis saucius in casa deportatur vilissima ubi, supervenientibus Gothis ignique supposito, incendio concrematus est*; Hier. *Chron.* a. 378 *Ipse imperator Valens, cum sagitta saucius fugeret et ob dolorem nimium saepe equo laberetur, ad cuiusdam villulae casam deportatus est. Quo persequentibus barbaris et incensa domo sepultura quoque caruit*; Zos. 4.24.2 σὺν ὀλίγοις δὲ πεφευγότες εἰς τινα κώμην τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ οὔσαν τειχίῃ, περιθέντες ὕλην πανταχόθεν τῇ κώμῃ καὶ πῦρ ἐνέντες τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ συμφυγόντας μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικοούντων ἐνέπρησαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως σώματι δυνηθῆναι τινα παντάπασιν ἐπιστῆναι ("The emperor fled with a few followers to an unwallled village. The enemy therefore piled wood all around it which they ignited, incinerating both those who had taken refuge there and the usual inhabitants, so that absolutely no one could even come near the body of the emperor", tr. Ridley, adapted); Chrys. *vid.* 1.5 (333–340); Rufin. *HE* 11.13; Oros. *hist.* 7.33.15; Soz. *HE* 6.40.3–5; Philost. *HE* 9.17; Thdt. *HE* 4.36.2; Iord. *Get.* 138. Cf. Lenski, 1997, 150–155 and 2002, 340–341.

*alii dicunt Valentem animam non exhalasse confestim, sed cum candidatis et spadonibus paucis prope ad agrestem casam relatum secunda contignatione fabre munitam, dum fovetur manibus imperitis, circumsessum ab hostilibus, qui esset, ignorantibus dedecore captivitatis exemptum* Amm. had said in § 8 that Valens' bodyguards had deserted him (*desertus ab armigeris princeps*), but this was apparently not entirely true, for the *candidati* formed an elite unit among the bodyguards of the emperor; see for them ad 15.5.16 (p. 94) and 25.3.6 (p. 66), where *Vit. Hil.* 22 should be corrected to *Hilar.* 13.3, and where Frank, 1969, 127–142 should be added to the literature. As to *spadonibus*, we know very little about Valens' relations with the eunuchs at court, but see ad 30.4.2 (pp. 62–63).

Instead of *agrestis casa*, the word *domus* and *aedificium* are used in 31.13.15, and *tugurium* in 31.16.2 ("cette incertitude du vocabulaire traduit l'imprécision de l'information concernant l'épisode", Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 540); cf. Rufin. *HE* 11.13 *in praedio*, *epit.* 46.2 *in casa...vilissima*, Soz. *HE* 6.40.3 *τι δωμάτιον ἢ πύργον*, Hier. *Chron.* a. 378 *ad cuiusdam villulae casam* (cf. Oros. *hist.* 7.33.15). In the *Res Gestae* we find *contignatio* ("a horizontal structure of joists and boards, erected to form a roof or floor of an upper storey, flooring, storey", OLD s.v.) also in 19.5.5 (p. 92) *ad contignationem*

13.14

*turris tertiam ascenderunt*. For *fabre* see ad 23.5.1 (p. 83), with *agrestem casam...fabre munitam* cf. κώμην...οὐκ οὔσαν τειχίῳ in Zos. 4.24.2. V's *hostilibus* is defended by Blomgren 157–158; e.g. Rolfe and Sabbah prefer c.c. the lectio facior *hostibus*; TLL VI 3.3052.62–69 lists for *hostilis* used as a subst. “i.q. hostis”, apart from Amm. 15.8.13, 24.1.6 (a conjecture of Clark) and the present text, only *Cod. Theod.* 9.45.5.

In the introductory words to sections 14–16 we referred to 31.1.2 “*vivus ardeat Valens*”. Some scholars see connections between the story about Valens’ death and earlier passages in the *Res Gestae* which are less obvious. Frank, 1966, 46 points to 29.1.10, where Amm., speaking of the treason trials as a result of the alleged conspiracy of the *notarius* Theodorus, says: *prodigiosa feritas in modum ardentissimae facis fusius vagabatur* (“the prodigious savagery of Valens burned far and wide like a blazing torch”, tr. Seager). “It is my belief”, so Frank, “that this torch simile foreshadows Valens’ death by fire, and that it is used in order to show symbolically that the emperor paid a fit penalty for his cruelty by his miserable end”. Kelly 75 n. 130 argues that the burning alive of the philosopher Simonides by an order of Valens, mentioned in 29.1.38 (*quem solum saevus ille sententiae lator...iusserat flammis exuri*, “him alone that cruel author of the verdict...had ordered to be burned alive”, tr. Rolfe), “will be avenged by the death of Valens, who, in the version to which Ammianus seems to give greater credit, is also burnt alive”. See also 31.14.8–9.

- 13.15 *cum enim oppessulatas ianuas perrumpere conati, qui secuti sunt, a parte pensili domus sagittis incesserentur, ne per moras inexpedibiles populandi amitterent copiam, congestis stipulae fascibus et lignorum flammaque supposita aedificium cum hominibus torruerunt* The Goths tried to capture the farm by breaking open the bolted doors; in extant Roman literature there are only three other instances of *oppessulatus*, “i.q. pessulo obseratus”, (TLL IX 2.749.73), Petr. 97.7 and Apul. *Met.* 1.22.5 and 9.30.6. However, the attackers were bombarded with arrows from an upper storey of the house (Vale-sius’ *a parte pensili* for V’s *aperte pensilis* is certainly right), which would inevitably shorten the time available for plundering considerably. *Inexpedibiles*, “i. quae expediri vel removeri non possent” (TLL VII 1.1323.9–10), is only found here. They therefore decided to burn the building with all who were in it. For *stipula*, ‘straw’, used to make a fire cf. e.g. 24.4.30 *collectam stipulam et sarmenta...aggresserunt*, Verg. *G.* 1.84–85 *saepe etiam sterilis incendere profuit agros, / atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis* and Apul. *Apol.* 25 *flamam stipula exortam*.

*unde quidam de candidatis per fenestram lapsus captusque a barbaris prodidit factum et eos maerore afflixit magna gloria defraudatos, quod Romanae rei rectorem non cepere superstitem. is ipse iuvenis occulte postea reversus ad nostros haec ita accidisse narravit* The natural inference from Amm.'s words about the escape of the young bodyguard would be that the other *candidati* and the *spadones* mentioned in §14 suffered the same fate as Valens, but see 31.15.8 (pp. 267–268). One wonders whether the *candidatus* was among those who brought the news of Valens' death by fire to his wife in Constantinople: καὶ ταύτην οἱ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπελθόντες εἰς πόλεμον ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπανήλθον τῇ γυναικὶ φέροντες τὴν ἀγγελίαν (Chrys. *vid.* 1.5 [339–340], cf. Lenski, 1997, 152–153). The verb *defraudare* occurs twice in the *Res Gestae*, here and in 29.4.6 (pp. 144–145) *hac Valentinianus gloria defraudatus*. For *rector* see ad 31.7.1 (p. 121).

*pari clade recuperatis Hispaniis Scipionum alterum cremata turri, in quam confugerat, absumptum incendio hostili comperimus. illud tamen certum est nec Scipioni nec Valenti sepulturam, qui suprematis honor est, contigisse* In 15.10.10–11 Amm. relates, that Publius Cornelius Scipio advised his brother Cn. Scipio, i.e. Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus (consul in 222 B.C., Broughton, 1951, 232–233), the *Scipionum alter* of the present text, to go to Spain and keep an eye on Hasdrubal; this was in 218 B.C., during the Second Punic war. Both brothers died in Spain in 211 B.C. (Broughton, 1951, 274). Interestingly, Liv. 25.36.13, speaking of the death of Gnaeus Scipio, mentions two versions, as Amm. does about the death of Valens: *Cn. Scipionem alii in tumultu primo impetu hostium caesum tradunt, alii cum paucis in propinquam castris turrin perfugisse; hanc igni circumdatam atque ita exustis foribus, quas nulla moliri potuerant vi, captam omnesque intus cum ipso imperatore occisos*. Cf. App. *Hisp.* 63. See for the Scipiones in Amm. ad 24.4.27 (p. 142) and in general for their appearance in Late Latin authors Felmy, 2001, 186–227. The fact that Valens could not be buried is also reported in other sources, for which see ad §12 *nec postea repertus est usquam* and the introductory words to sections 14–16. Note that *tamen* makes clear that Amm., despite the story of the *candidatus* in the preceding section, still had doubts about the reliability of the version of Valens' death by fire. The relative *qui* is, in conformity with classical usage, in agreement with the subject complement *honor*, Pinkster I 1278–1279. The word *supremitas* occurs only here and in an entirely different phrase in 25.1.12 *per supremitates narium*, “through the tips of their noses” (Rolfe).

13.18 *In hac multiplici virorum illustrium clade Traiani mors eminebat et Sebastiani, cum quibus triginta quinque oppetivere tribuni vacantes et numerorum rectores et Valerianus atque Equitius, quorum alter stabulum, alter curabat palatium* Cf. for the opening words Liv. 3.32.4 *multiplici clade foedatus annus*. Both Traianus and Sebastianus play a prominent role in Book 31; they are mentioned in 31.7.1 (p. 121), 7.5; 8.3; 11.1; 12.1; 13.8, and 31.11.1 (p. 184), 11.4; 12.1; 12.6, respectively. The death of these generals was no doubt a great loss, but in view of the fact that at least their colleagues Victor, Richomeres and Saturninus survived (§ 9 above), the assertion of Chrysostom (*vid.* 1.5, 332–333) that the greater part of the generals died (τῶν στρατηγῶν... ἀπέθανον οἱ πολλοί), “ist eine Übertreibung” (Hoffmann, 1969–1970, vol. 2, 186 n. 169). For *tribuni* see above, ad 31.8.9 (p. 151). *Tribuni vacantes* “were (temporarily) without a unit, and served on the staff of the emperor or of a general, and were employed for special duties” (Jones 640). In the *Res Gestae* we meet them, apart from in the present text, in 15.3.10 (pp. 50–51), 16.12.63 and 18.2.2. *Numeri* are also mentioned in 31.7.3 (p. 122), 31.8.9 and 31.11.2; for *rector* see above, ad § 16. Valerianus (*PLRE* I, Valerianus 7) is only known from the present text; for his function as *tribunus stabuli*, once occupied by Valens himself (26.4.2, pp. 79–80), see ad 20.4.3 (p. 61). Amm. is the only source of information for the *cura palatii* Equitius (*PLRE* I, Equitius 1), whom we already met in 31.12.15 (p. 216).

*inter hos etiam Promotorum tribunus Potentius cecidit in primaevae aetatis flore, bono cuique spectatus, meritis Ursicini patris, magistri quondam armorum, suisque commendabilis. constatque vix tertiam evasisse exercitus partem* In the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Or. 5.28, Occ. 6.44) *Equites promoti seniores* are listed among the *vexillationes palatinae* under the disposition of the *magister militum praesentalis* (in the East) and the *magister equitum praesentalis* (in the West). They may already “have belonged to the Diocletianic *comitatus*: the name *Promoti* was given to legionary cavalry detached from their legion” (Jones 53). We know of one other officer of the *Promoti*, Bappo (*PLRE* I, Bappo 1 + A. Lippold in *Gnomon* 46 [1974] 270), *ducens Promotos* (15.4.10, pp. 65–66). Potentius (*PLRE* I, Potentius) was the son of Ursicinus (*PLRE* I, Ursicinus 2), the general on whose staff Amm. served for some years, and to whom he became deeply loyal (see for him ad 20.2.1, pp. 9–10). Young Potentius is only known by name from the present text; in 14.11.3, speaking about Ursicinus’ sons, Amm. does not mention their names. For *in primaevae aetatis flore* cf. 22.12.2 (about Julian) *in aetatis flore primaevae* and 19.1.11 (about a deceased prince of the Chionitae) *in primaevae flore succisam spem gentis*. In Book 31 the term *magister armorum* is also found in 31.12.1 (p. 199). There are

notes on *commendabilis* ad 25.5.4 (p. 185) and 30.7.4 (p. 155). With respect to the last words of the section Lenski, 1997, 132 aptly refers to Them. *Or.* 16.206 δ στρατοπέδων δὲ ὀλοκλήρων ἀφανισθέντων ὥσπερ σκιᾶς ('whole army corps disappeared like a shadow') and *Or.* 14.181 a. For estimations of the strength of Valens' army see ad 31.11.2 (pp. 186–187).

... *annalibus praeter Cannensem pugnam ita ad internecionem res legitur gesta, quamquam Romani aliquotiens reflante Fortuna fallaciis lusi bellorum iniquitati cesserunt ad tempus et certamina multa fabulosae neniae flevete Graecorum* The lacuna indicated by Seyfarth is not found in V. Accursius and Gelenius read *Nec ulla*, to which Sabbah convincingly added *in*: <*Nec ulla in*> *annalibus*. For *annales* see above, ad 31.5.17 (p. 105). Among the defeats in the history of Rome (cf. Fro. *Parth.* 1. p. 220 *Gallico bello apud Alliam, Samnitei apud Caudium, Punico ad Cannas, Hispanico apud Numantiam, Iugurthino apud Cirtam, Parthico ad Carrhas*) that of Cannae in 216 B.C. was the most crushing: *paene ultimum volnus imperii Cannae* (Flor. *Epit.* 2.6.15), *imperium Romanum Cannensi proelio paene destructum* (V. Max. 3.8.2). It was "a battle of annihilation" (Gulf Commander H. Norman Schwarzkopf in the *Los Angeles Times* of March 27, 1991), and a "traumatische Erinnerung" (Beck, 2006).

The comparison between the battles of Adrianople and Cannae, as Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 548 rightly states, implicitly gives hope for the future (cf. for this idea Lenski, 1997, 160–163). Even after Cannae Rome struggled to its feet again, as the word *paene* in the quoted passages of Florus and Valerius Maximus already indicates and as history proved. Cf. the optimism which can be heard in the words, which Livy puts into the mouth of Marcius Septimus: *documentum dedistis hostibus non cum Scipionibus extinctum esse nomen Romanum et, cuius populi vis atque virtus non obruta sit Cannensi clade, ex omni profecto saevitia fortunae emersuram esse* ("you gave the enemy proof that the Roman name has not been extinguished with the Scipios, and that the people whose might and courage were not overwhelmed by the disaster at Cannae will surely survive any cruelty of Fortune", 25.38.9–10, tr. Gardener Moore); cf. also Liv. 24.8.20. Likewise after Adrianople Rome would recover, although the battle of 378 was an *exitialis pugna* (31.15.1; cf. 31.13.11 and Them. *Or.* 34.22 about the Goths: οἱ τοῦ Ἀννίβα χαλεπώτεροι Ῥωμαίοις, 'worse for the Romans than Hannibal'). The Romans had often (*aliquotiens*) "deceived by trickery due to an adverse breeze of Fortune, yielded...to ill-successes in their wars" (tr. Rolfe), but that was only temporarily (*ad tempus*) and, as is implied, could and would change when the winds of Fortune became favourable again. Cf. for *reflante Fortuna* Cic.



*Off.* 2.19 *magnam vim esse in fortuna in utramque partem, vel secundas ad res vel adversas quis ignorat. nam et cum prospero flatu eius utimur ad exitus pervehimur optatos et cum reflavit affligimur* (“Who fails to comprehend the enormous, two-fold power of Fortune for weal and for woe? When we enjoy her favouring breeze, we are wafted over to the wished-for haven; when she blows against us, we are dashed to destruction”, tr. Miller), and note that Amm. already in 31.5.14 expressed his trust in Rome’s resilience: *mox post calamitosa dispendia res in integrum sunt restitutae*. Rome was not alone in having witnessed many setbacks; see how “the storied dirges of the Greeks have mourned over many a contest” (tr. Rolfe); for *nenia* see ad 31.1.3 (p. 5).

## CHAPTER 14

### *Introduction*

Ammianus has written a necrology or *elogium* of every emperor whose reign he describes: Gallus (14.11.27–29), Constantius (21.16), Julian (25.4), Jovian (25.10.14–15) and Valentinian (30.7–9), listing their *vitia/mala* and *virtutes/bona*. See for these necrologies of Ammianus' protagonists in general the introductions to 21.16 (pp. 239–240) and 25.4 (pp. 111–113). Generally speaking Samberger, 1969, 479 rightly remarks that the necrologies are not biographical appendices but a “Rückblick auf den Tatenbericht unter dem Aspekt der sittlichen Eignung der Herrscher.” However, Pauw, 1972, 156 has observed that in the case of Valens the *bona* in the *elogium* have not been mentioned in the “Tatenbericht” of his reign and are in fact in flat contradiction with it. It looks therefore as if Ammianus has drawn on other source material to present a balanced account of the emperor's virtues and vices.

This chapter offers a necrology of Valens. While the necrology of Valentinian is the longest in the *Res Gestae*, that of Valens is rather short and differs also from that of his brother and co-emperor in that it starts with Valens' *bona* and then discusses his *mala*.

Sections 2–4 discuss Valens' merits. He was a faithful friend and strict in punishing abuse of power. He maintained discipline in the army and civil service, and was wary that no one should profit from kinship with him. He was slow in appointing and discharging officials. He protected the provinces from harm and concerned himself with lightening their burden of taxation. Ammianus praises Valens specifically for fighting corrupt practices of court officials by exercising the imperial virtue of *liberalitas* combined with *moderatio*. Ammianus ends his discussion of Valens' merits by reporting his building activities in cities and towns, activities worthy of emulation.

Sections 5–6 are dedicated to Valens' faults which are in glaring contrast with his merits. He lusted after wealth, presented himself as tough but was unwilling to endure fatigue, he was inclined to cruelty and he was not well educated. He was not trained in the liberal arts nor in the skills of war. He did not mind taking advantage of the suffering of others, and brought far too many accusations under the heading of *laesa maiestas*. Although he pretended to leave judicial investigations to the law and to judges, he did

not allow anything to be done contrary to his own wishes. Moreover, he was unfair, hot-tempered and did not distinguish between right and wrong.

Section 7 deals primarily with Valens' physiognomy. This is a standard subject in the necrologies since a person's physical peculiarities are supposed to reflect his moral character.

The necrology ends in an unexpected and unusual way. In the last two sections (8 and 9) Ammianus returns to the oracle about Valens' death 'in the plains of Mimas' quoted in 29.1.33. Initially, Valens had ignored the prediction. Only later, when events took a turn for the worse, did he inquire after the meaning of the oracle. The experts told him that the oracle referred to the mountain Mimas near to the city of Erythrae in Ionia. Therefore Valens decided to avoid Asia Minor. As it turned out, however, the oracle referred to the plains of Thrace, where Valens died on the battlefield. By recalling the Mimas-oracle in Book 29 Ammianus links Valens' ignominious death on the battlefield to his unjust behaviour as an emperor.

- 14.1 *Perit autem hoc exitu Valens quinquagesimo anno contiguus, cum per annos quattuor imperasset et decem, parvo minus. cuius bona multis cognita dice-mus et vitia* The predicate *perit* must be taken as a form of the perfect tense. As V never has *periit* or *rediit*, we may suppose that Amm. preferred the contracted forms, for which see TLL X 1.1325.69–1326.31 and Neue-Wagener III, 1897<sup>3</sup>, 447. It was Gelenius who changed them everywhere to *periit* and *rediit*. The singular *hoc exitu* refers to the version of Valens' death by fire, as reported in the sections 14 to 16 of the preceding chapter, which Amm. is inclined to accept, as is confirmed by section 17 *pari clade...Scipionem alterum...absumptum incendio hostili comperimus*. For *contiguus* 'close' in a temporal sense cf. 24.1.10 *centenario iam contiguus*. The phrase *parvo minus*, although easily understood, is without parallel. TLL X 1.562.35–36 compares *Vulg. II Cor. 11.24 a Iudaeis quinquies quadragenas* (sc. plagas 'lashes') *una minus accepi*. In the relative clause *et vitia* is in hyperbaton c.c.; *multis cognita* refers both to Valens' good qualities and to his vices.

On the basis of Amm. Valens' year of birth is dated in 328; *PLRE* I, Flavius Valens 8; Lenski, 2002, 50 has late summer of 328. Also *Soz. HE* 6.40.5 reports that the emperor died around the age of fifty (ἐτελεύτησε δὲ γεγωνῶς ἄμφι τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη). Valens died on 9 August (31.12.10, p. 209) and since he was made Augustus by his brother Valentinian in Constantinople on 28 March 364 (26.4.3, p. 81), he reigned more than fourteen years, not less, namely fourteen years, five months and twelve days. However, it is possible that Amm. started counting from the moment of the *divisio regni* in the summer of 364 (26.5.1–4, pp. 93–106); in that case Amm.'s reckoning is correct, since

the brothers departed to the East and West probably not long after 29 July 364; Note on Chronology Book 26 (p. xvii) and Seeck, 1919, 216 (early August). Socr. *HE* 4.38.11 and Soz. *HE* 6.40.5 are mistaken when they report that Valens ruled sixteen years: thirteen years with Valentinian and another three years after his brother's death, as is *epit.* 46.1 *Valens...regnavit annos tredecim, menses quinque.*

*amicus fidelis et firmus, ultor acer ambitionum, severus militaris et civilis disciplinae corrector, pervigil semper et anxius, ne quis propinquitatem eius praetendens altius semet efferret, erga deferendas potestates vel adimendas nimium tardus* The short section on Valens in *epit.* 46 has *in amicos fidus*. For the wording Amm. may have imitated Cic. *Cael.* 14 *firmus amicus ac fidelis* here, changing the word order c.c. For the rare plural of *ambitio* see ad 22.4.7 (p. 46), where Valesius' definition of the term is quoted: "gratia et suffragium virorum potentium". In 30.4.2 Amm. had mentioned the successful efforts of Valens' courtiers to stop the emperor from involving himself in the malpractice of those *qui tenuiorum negotia militaris rei rectoribus vel intra palatium validis venditantes aut opes aut honores quaesivere praeclaros* (pp. 63–64). In upholding discipline Valens resembled his brother (*militaris disciplinae censor eximius*, 30.9.1). For *corrector* see ad 31.4.9 (p. 74).

14.2

As the following phrase *pervigil semper* makes clear, Amm. is thinking of Valens' avoidance of nepotism in his policy regarding appointments and promotions. In this respect he resembled Constantius (*erga tribuendas celsiores dignitates impendio parcus*, 21.16.1) and his brother (*necessitudinibus suis nihil indulgens*, 30.9.2, *Scrupulosus in deferendis potestatibus celsis*, 30.9.3). Lenski, 2002, 62–63 presents several examples of officials who held their office for extraordinarily long periods. Again the *Epitome* (46.3) provides similar information: *mutare iudices rarius*; for a possible common source for Amm. and the author of the *Epitome* see ad 30.9.4 (p. 191). Valentinian seems to have been more inclined than Valens to depose and punish officials, as the cases of Iovinus, Caelestinus, Concordius and Lucius indicate (28.6.22, pp. 287–288). In spite of what Amm. writes, Valens did not completely refrain from nepotism. Shortly after he had come to power he promoted his father-in-law Petronius to the status of *patricius* in which capacity he did much harm and enriched himself (26.6.7–9, pp. 140–147); moreover he made his *propinquus* Equitius *cura palatii* (31.12.15).

*provinciarum aequissimus tutor, quarum singulas ut domum propriam custodibat indemnes* Cf. the speech of Valentinian in 27.6.9 *quod pietatis summum primumque munus est, rem publicam ut domum paternam diligere,*

where Lindenbrog quotes Isoc. *Nicocl.* 19 οὔκει τὴν πόλιν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τὸν πατρῶν οἶκον. Cf. also Themistius, who in *Or.* 8. 113 d compares Valens' management of the empire with his running of the family's farmstead in Pannonia: οἰκίας πρότερον ἐπεμελήθης ἢ βασιλείας, καὶ μετήνεγκας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἐπὶ τὰ μείζω τὴν ἐμπειρίαν ('Before your emperorship you took care of your house, and this experience you have transferred from a lower to a higher place'). The way in which the provinces are treated is a standard item in imperial *elogia*. Similar praise is given to Julian in 18.1.1 *provinciarum fortunis multa conducentia disponebat diligenter observans, ne quem tributorum sarcina praegravaret* and Valentinian in 30.9.1 *in provinciales admodum parcus, tributorum ubique molliens sarcinas* (but see pp. 184–185). By contrast Constantius is criticized in this respect: 16.8.12 *proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus, sed eos medullis provinciarum saginavit Constantius* ('Constantine was the first to whet the appetite of his staff, but it was Constantius who crammed them with the marrow of the provinces', tr. Hamilton), and see his *elogium* in 21.16.17 *nec provinciarum indemnitati prospexit, cum multiplicatis tributis et vectigalibus vexarentur* (pp. 269–270).

*tributorum onera studio quodam molliens singulari, nulla vectigalium admittens augmenta, in adaerandis reliquorum debitis non molestus, furibus et in peculatu deprehensis iudicibus inimicus asper et vehemens. nec sub alio principe in huiusmodi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit oriens* Viansino ad loc. aptly compares Tac. *Ag.* 19.4 *tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire*. For *quidam* intensifying an adjective (in this case *singulari*) see ad 20.4.13 (pp. 83–84) and OLD s.v. 2. Note the hyperbaton c.c. of *singulari*. This is the only instance in Amm. of the verb *adaerare*, which is found almost exclusively in the *Codex Theodosianus*; TLL I 562.37sq. For the meaning of *adaeratio* see the extensive note ad 31.4.4 (pp. 58–64). *Reliquorum debita* refers to tax arrears, as in 16.5.15 *tributariae rei...reliqua* and HA H 7.6 *in provinciis vero etiam ex reliquis ingentes summas remisit*. These arrears would have to be paid in money (*adaerandis*) as a substitution for payment in kind. The suggestion is, that Valens was not overly demanding (*molestus*) in fixing the price the taxpayers had to pay. For *peculatus*, see the note ad 27.3.2 (p. 40). De Jonge has a note on *fur* ad 18.1.4 (p. 10). *Oriens* refers to the eastern part of the empire; see ad 20.1.1 (p. 2). In view of the context *iudicibus* must refer to magistrates in general rather than to judges; see for this meaning ad 20.5.7 (pp. 125–126). The surprising praise of Valens in the concluding sentence is reminiscent of Amm.'s admiration for Anatolius as prefect of Illyricum in 19.11.3 *nec enim dispositionibus umquam*

*alterius praefecturae, ut inter omnes constat, ad praesens arctoe provinciae bonis omnibus floruerunt.*

Fiscal policy is an item recommended for discussion in imperial *elogia* by Menander Rhetor (2.375). All in all Valens seems to have conducted a sound economic policy after the financial mess created by Julian; Lenski, 2002, 286–287. For the financial and economic policy of the Valentiniani, who both tried to lighten the financial burdens of their subjects, see Lenski, 2002, 286–307. Valens, like his brother Valentinian, was resolute in suppressing corruption because of his experience with bamboozling tax collectors and the avarice of soldiers according to Them. *Or.* 8.114 a: οἷσθα ὅπόσον κακὸν πρακτῆρος ἀναισχυντία, ὅπόσον γραμματέως κακοτεχνία, ὅπόσον ἀστικοῦ στρατιώτου φιλοκέρδεια ('You know how bad the impudence of money collectors is, how bad the malpractice of writers, and how bad the greed of soldiers stationed in the city'). Gregory of Nyssa reports, that Valens punished corrupt officials; *bapt. diff.* (PG 46.420); see also Bas. *ep.* 147–149. Both brothers issued several laws against fraud and corruption; *Cod. Theod.* 1.15.6, 1.29.5 (= *Cod. Iust.* 1.55.3), 8.1.11, 9.42.7 (= *Cod. Iust.* 9.49.7), 11.1.11, 11.17.1, 12.6.12. For a detailed discussion of Valens' (and Valentinian's) attempts to suppress corruption, see Lenski, 2002, 272–274.

*super his omnibus liberalis erat cum moderatione, cuius rei licet abundant exempla, unum tamen sufficiet poni* Both *liberalitas* and *moderatio* are imperial virtues. For the former see ad 25.4.15 (p. 140). Valens' *liberalitas* is illustrated by his tax policy; Brandt, 1999, 60. *Moderatio*, i.e. the restraint of power, is mentioned by Pliny as a quality of Trajan (*Pan.* 56.3). See Wallace-Hadrill, 1982, 41–42 and Seager 1–2. *Tamen* combined with *sufficiet* is slightly pleonastic. 14.3

*ut sunt in palatiis nonnulli alienarum rerum avidi, si qui caducum vel aliud petisset ex usu, cum magna iustorum iniustorumque distinctione contradic-turis copia servata* For *palatium*, which can refer both to the physical imperial residence and to the court, see the note ad 26.10.1 (pp. 265–266). The plural of *palatium* is not found elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*, and the author clearly has only Valens' court in mind. Therefore we should emend *in palatiis* to *in palatinis*, the more so since, as was noted ad 29.1.5 (p. 10), *palatini* 'could specifically designate those officials who worked in one of the financial departments at court'.

A *caducum* is a property without an heir or which had belonged to a condemned felon (generally speaking an estate that had fallen into the possession of the state). Amm. uses this juridical t.t. only here; TLL III 36.14 sqq.

*Caduca* were sometimes claimed by courtiers; causal *ut* and *ex usu* show, that the greed of these courtiers is a given. The subjunctive *petisset* has iterative sense. For substantivized *aliud* see ad 30.5.12 (p. 125); it may refer to *bona vacantia*, such as *bona damnatorum*, for which cf. 16.8.11 (p. 100) about *potentes in regia* trying to enrich themselves: *ut damnatorum petita bona suis accorporarent*. In 22.4.9 (pp. 48–49) we read about Julian’s barber, who listed his remunerations ending with *absque fructuosis petitionibus multis*. It seems that the emperors were not always consulted about the acquisition of *caduca* by petitioners, as appears from *Cod. Theod.* 10.10.11 dated 11 December 369 by Valentinian, Valens and Gratian and addressed to Alexandrianus, comes of the *res privata*: *Super vacantibus ac caducis, cum forte largitatem nostram aviditas circuit postulantium, prius tua scripta mittantur...serenitatis nostrae scientia protinus instruat, ut quid statuendum sit, pro legum ordine terminemus* (“Whenever perchance We are besieged by the greed of petitioners of Our largess of ownerless and caducous property, first of all your written documents must be issued...and the wisdom of Our Serenity shall be immediately informed, so that We may determine what must be decided in accordance with the order of the law”, tr. Pharr). Since the law was issued in Marcianopolis, Valens must have been behind it, which, like the present passage, is evidence for his efforts to stop his courtiers from enriching themselves. See further Jones 420–425; Delmaire, 1989, 610–639.

Distinguishing right from wrong is a characteristic of a just ruler, as Amm. points out time and again: 18.1.2 (about Julian) *indeclinabilis iustorum iniustorumque distinctor*; 22.3.4 *iudices iustorum iniustorumque distinctiores*. See further ad 28.4.1 (p. 170) and Brandt, 1999, 281 n. 52. For *contradicere* as a juridical t.t. ‘to contest’ see TLL IV 754.68sq., OLD s.v. 1 and cf. Liv. *per.* 107 *lex lata est, ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur, invito et contradicente M. Catone*.

*donabat ei, qui petierat, tres vel quattuor alios absentes aliquotiens impetratorum participes iungens, ut castigatius agerent inquieti lucra, quibus inhiant, hoc minui commento cernentes* When Valens agreed to a *petitio*, he often (*aliquotiens*) made the petitioner share his grant with three or four others, without consulting these individuals (*absentes*), thus making it less attractive to petition a *caducum*. For *absens* “in re iudiciaria” (TLL I 214.66) cf. 15.5.15 *timensque, ne trucidaretur absens et indemnatus* (text uncertain) and 22.3.6 *capitis crimine tamen damnatus est absens* and for *impetrata* cf. *Cod. Theod.* 2.23.1 (interpr.) *non solum impetrata non valeant, verum etiam inprobis petitor viginti libras auri fisco cogatur exsolvere* (“not only shall the

impetrated right be invalid but also the dishonest claimant shall be forced to pay twenty pounds of gold to the fisc”, tr. Pharr).

There is a note on *castigatius* ‘modestly’ ad 22.3.12 *ut castigatius viveret* (p. 35). It seems best to take *castigatius* and *agerent* together, and to interpret *inquieti* as ‘these troublemakers’. For *inquietus* in this sense cf. the complaint of Marcus Aurelius about the Jews in 22.5.5: “*o Marcomanni, o Quadi, o Sarmatae, tandem alios vobis inquietiores inveni*”. For *commentum* ‘device’ see ad 20.6.6 (p. 145).

*super aedificiis autem, quae per diversas urbes et oppida vel instauravit vel a primis instruxit auspiciis, ne sim longior, taceo rebus ipsis id apertius monstrare concedens. haec bonis omnibus aemulanda sunt, ut existimo. nunc eius vitia percurramus* For *super* = *de* see ad 14.7.12 (pp. 40–41); Szantyr 281 (“allgemein im Spätlatein”), and cf. 28.2.2 *munimentum...*, *quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis*. 14.4

Both Valentinian and Valens are praised for their building activities and for sponsoring construction work in the cities. Because of the destruction caused by earthquakes in his part of the empire in 365, 368 and 375/76 Valens undertook and stimulated restoration works in those cities and towns, which were affected by these and other natural disasters; cf. Them. Or. 11.150 c–d. For an overview of natural disasters under Valens’ reign see Lenski, 2002, Appendix C. Valens seems to have focused on renovating and finishing existing buildings, begun under earlier emperors, rather than starting the construction of new ones. In Constantinople he finished the aqueduct named after him, two bath complexes, a cistern and the Church of the Holy Apostles; new constructions were a nymphaeum, another bathhouse, and a warehouse for grain. Also in Antioch Valens undertook a considerable number of (re)building projects; Lenski, 2002, 277–278 and Appendix D, which offers a list of civic structures built under the Pannonian brothers; cf. also ad 31.1.2 (p. 4).

The concluding remark on Valens’ *bona* is similar to the opening phrase about Valentinian’s good qualities: *Consentaneum est venire post haec ad eius actus sequendos recte sentientibus et probandos* (30.9.1). Note that Amm. is silent about Valens’ religious policy, whereas Valentinian was praised for his “non-interventionist and non-coercive” attitude (Hunt, 2007, 90); see ad 30.9.6 (pp. 192–193).

*Magnarum opum intemperans appetitor, laborum impatiens, duritiamque magis affectans immanem, in crudelitatem proclivior, subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus* Cf. the *elogium* of Julian in 25.4.18 14.5



*laudum...intemperans appetitor* (pp. 156–157, where ‘Valentinian’ should be corrected to ‘Valens’). In earlier character sketches of Valens his lust for money had already been mentioned, e.g. 26.6.6 *incusantium multorum Valentem quasi cupiditate aliena rapiendi succensum* and 29.1.19 *admovente stimulos avaritia et sua et eorum, qui tunc in regia versabantur*. In contrast to Valens Julian is praised for imposing more toil upon himself than on his men: *plus laboris indicere sibi quam militi* (17.1.2). *Affectans* ‘feigning’ suggests that *duritia* here means ‘toughness’ rather than ‘harshness’; cf. Cic. *Part.* 81 *fortitudinem audacia imitatur et patientiam duritia inmanis*. For *proclivior* cf. *Valentinianus ad acerbitatem proclivior* (28.6.22).

Valens clearly lacked *paideia* in the eyes of Amm. His boorishness and lack of sophistication is also referred to elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*; 27.5.8 *imperator rudis* (p. 118); 29.1.11 *Valentem, subrusticum hominem* (p. 23); 30.4.2 *subagreste ingenium nullius vetustatis lectionibus expolitum* (pp. 62–63) and § 8 below *erat inconsummatus et rudis*. In this respect the contrast with Julian, who was *armatae rei scientissimus et togatae* (25.4.7, p. 128), could not have been greater. Valens even had books on liberal arts and jurisprudence burnt, as Amm. mentions in 29.1.41; Drijvers, 2012, 94–96. He spoke hardly any Greek and had difficulty understanding speeches addressed to him in that language; Lenski, 2002, 94–95. Boorishness and rudeness are stereotypical characteristics of Pannonians and Illyrians; Lenski, 2002, 86–87; see also Alföldi, 1952, 117–124. By contrast Them. *Or.* 11. 144b–145c pictures Valens as a philosopher and a man of ‘Bildung’.

*alienis gemitibus libenter emolumenta fructusque conquirens tuncque magis intolerabilis, cum incidentia crimina ad contemptam vel laesam principis amplitudinem trahens in sanguinem saeviebat et dispēdia locupletum* For *alienis gemitibus* cf. 30.8.8 *Aviditas...indagandi quaestus varios per alienae vitae naufragia*. Like his brother Valentinian (30.8.3 *erat effusior ad nocendum*) Valens derived pleasure from harming people (26.10.12 *imperator enim promptior ad nocendum*). According to Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 561 Amm.’s words seem to refer “aux confiscations pénales qui ont suivi la répression contre les partisans de Procope et les procès d’Antioche”. However, Angliviel notes at the same time, that Valens does not seem not to have extended his legislation on confiscations.

*Laesa principis amplitudo* is equivalent to *laesa maiestas*, for which see the note ad 21.12.19 (pp. 175–176). Add to the literature mentioned there Wiebe, 1995, 172–173, who is of the unlikely opinion that lawsuits because of *laesa maiestas* were presented by Amm. as typical for Christian emperors. The frequency of high treason charges is inherent in tyrannical regimes. Cf.

for instance Tac. *Ann.* 2.50.1 *Adolescebat interea lex maiestatis*, 3.38.1 *addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat*. Amm. mentions such charges during the reign of Constantius (16.8.1 *per simulationem tuendae maiestatis imperatoriae multa et nefanda perpetrabantur*, 19.12.1 *inflabant litui quaedam colorata* ['trumped up'] *laesae crimina maiestatis*), Valentinian (28.1.11 *causas, quas arroganter proposito maiestatis imminutae miscebat*, p. 27) and Valens himself (26.10.13 innocent people were forced *quasi laesae maiestatis luere poenas*). For *dispendium* see ad 31.5.14 (p. 101).

*illud quoque ferri non poterat, quod, cum legibus lites omnes quaestionesque committere videri se vellet destinatisque velut lectis iudicibus negotia spectanda mandabat, nihil agi contra libidinem suam patiebatur* 14.6 For the alternation of subj. and indic. in *quod*- and *cum*-clauses see ad 27.12.18 (pp. 292–293). Walter, 1920, 716 proposed to read *lites omnes omnesque quaestiones*, which deserves serious consideration in view of 20.11.12 *omni arte omnique virium nisu*. Henri de Valois saw, that V's *veteris evellet* was the result of misreading the scriptio continua of the archetypus of V, and convincingly corrected it to *videri se vellet*. Valens professed to administer justice in accordance with the law, but in fact acted arbitrarily. For *legibus committere* cf. Cic. *Ver.* 1.82 *incommoda sua nostris committere legibus et iudiciis quam dolori suo permittere maluerunt*. The *elogium* echoes here 26.10.10 about Valens' reprisals after the suppression of the revolt of Procopius: *ubi vero consiliis impiis iura quidem praetenduntur et leges...agatur autem, quod agitur, ad voluntatem praetumidae potestatis et ex eius libidine* (p. 285), and 29.1.27 *cognitoribus praescripta ostendantibus legum, sed ex voluntate dominantis moderantibus momenta causarum* (p. 43). The Caesar Gallus was criticized for the same reason in 14.1.5: *nec vox accusatoris ulla, licet subditicii, in his malorum quaerebatur acervis, ut saltem specie tenus crimina praescriptis legum committerentur* ("And no words of an accuser, even though bribed, were required amid these accumulations of evil, in order that charges were, at least ostensibly, brought before the rules of law", tr. Rolfe adapted). *Velut lectis* is malicious. The appointed (*destinati*) judges were 'allegedly chosen with care'. For *spectare* 'to investigate' see ad 17.4.5 (p. 77).

*iniuriosus alia et iracundus et criminantibus sine differentia veri vel falsi facillime patens, quae vitiorum labes etiam in his privatis cotidianisque rationibus impendio est formidanda* According to TLL VII 1.1682.74 the adj. *iniuriosus* is used as a translation of ὕβριστής, 'offensive', 'arrogant'; cf. 26.8.2 (p. 216) where we should probably read *iniuriose*, instead of *irrisive*. For the acc.

respectus *alia* see ad 28.4.3 (p. 174). *Epit.* 46 is more positive about Valens: *irasci sine noxa ac periculo cuiusquam*. His willingness to listen to slanderers was already mentioned in 26.10.12: *imperator...criminantibus patens*. In this respect he resembled Constantius: *ad suscipiendas defensiones aequas et probabiles imperatoris aures oclusae patebant susurris insidiantium clandestinis* (15.2.2). The expression *vitiorum labes* is not found in classical texts, but becomes frequent in Late Latin. Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 15.1 (about Antoninus Pius) *Hunc fere nulla vitiorum labes commaculavit*. For anger in Amm. as a lack of self-control see Seager 34–36.

- 14.7 *Cessator et piger, nigri coloris, pupula oculi unius obstructa, sed ita, ut non eminus appareret, figura bene compacta membrorum, staturae nec procerae nec humilis, incurvis cruribus exstanteque mediocriter ventre* The qualification *cessator* ('sluggard', 'procrastinator') *et piger* is the opposite of *promptus* or *expeditus*. This aspect is not mentioned anywhere else in the narrative of Valens' reign.

For Amm.'s interest in physiognomy see ad 21.16.19 (pp. 274–275) and 27.6.15 (p. 156); Sabbah 421–428; Repath, 2007; Rohrbacher, 2010; Passarella, 2015. *Piger nigri* is Accursius' emendation of V's *pigner inigni*. It may be compared to the description of Constantius, who is called *subniger* in 21.16.19, which indicates a sallow or ashen complexion; cf. Juv. 1.72 *nigros efferre maritos*. According to *Physiognom.* 79 this is a sign of weakness: *color niger lenis* ('dull black color') *imbellem, timidum, versutum indicat*.

In physiognomical studies the eyes play a prominent part: Plin. *Nat.* 11.145 *perfecto in oculis animus habitat*; *Physiognom.* 20 *nunc de oculis disputandum est, ubi summa omnis physiognomoniae constituta est*. Specially remarkable is *Physiognom.* 34 *oculi caligine obsiti malis artibus imbuti sunt, infideles, intemperantes* ('Darkened eyes are a sure sign of evil habits, untrustworthiness and immoderation'). Sabbah 424–425 n. 76 refers to *Physiognom.* 21 *si autem ad huiusmodi pupillarum turpitudinem etiam obscuritas quaedam tanquam nubecula circa supercilia versetur atque oculis ipsis immineat, hi gravi perurgentur fato et praesagiunt in rebus domesticis suis iram aliquam divinitus imminentem* ('But if in addition to disgrace seen in pupils of this type a certain darkness like a small cloud envelopes the eyebrows and overhangs the eyes themselves, these men are driven by a grave fate and feel beforehand in their own private affairs the threat of some divine anger', tr. Repath). According to Rohrbacher, 2010, 108 the addition, that the sty could not be seen from a distance, was added by Amm. "as if he were heading off complaints from those who had personal knowledge of the emperor's eyes".

Valens was well built, just like Julian: *liniamentorum recta compage* (25.4.22, p. 161) and Valentinian: *pulchritudo staturae liniamentorumque recta compago* (30.9.6, pp. 193–194). However, according to Aristotle, people with bandy legs were slow-witted (*Physiognom.* 86 *idem Aristoteles dicit sensibus esse eos tardiores, quorum crura incurva sunt*). A paunch is a sure sign of debauchery (*Physiognom.* 64 *Venter cum est magnus et congestis carnibus...deditum luxuriae ac veneri indicat*). For this last detail cf. HA P 12.1 *ventre prominulo*.

*Haec super Valente dixisse sufficiet, quae vera esse aequalis nobis memoria plene testatur. illud autem praeteriri non convenit, quod, cum oraculo tripodis, quem movisse Patricium docuimus et Hilarium, tres versus illos fatidicos comperisset, quorum ultimum est ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος ἀγαιόμενοι Ἄρηος, ut erat inconsummatus et rudis, inter initia contemnebat* For *aequalis* + dat. cf. Nep. Ar. 1.1 *Aristides...aequalis fere fuit Themistocli*. Amm. claims, that his balanced assessment of Valens' virtues and vices is shared by his contemporaries. The fifth-century church historians generally depicted his reign in far more negative terms; see for them Leppin, 1996, 96–102. The verb *move* is used also in 29.1.29 (*mensulam...movimus tandem; movendi autem...erat institutio talis*). It is a ritualistic t.t., for which see TLL VIII 1545.30–36 “de sacris suscipiendis” with a reference to Norden, 1912<sup>4</sup>, 148 n. 2.

14.8

The *elogium* on Valens could have ended here, but Amm. feels obliged to add a footnote, which he introduces with roughly the same words as the embarrassing anecdote of Valentinian's pet bears in 29.3.9: *illud tamen nec praeteriri est aequum nec sileri*. For Hilarius (*PLRE* I, Hilarius 6) and Patricius (*PLRE* I, Patricius 3) see ad 29.1.7 (p. 16). Amm. refers to the three lines of the oracle quoted in 29.1.33 (p. 55). For *fatidicos* see ad 25.3.19 (p. 98). *Illos* has the connotation of ‘well known’, cf. 29.1.33 *versus illos notissimos*. The translation of the last verse of the oracle is: ‘When in Mimas’ plains Ares shows his indignation’. According to Amm. Valens ‘paid no attention’ (*contemnebat*) to the oracle about Mimas because, being an ignoramus, he failed to understand its meaning, and did not realize its importance. There is a note on *inconsummatus* ‘uncultured’ ad 21.10.8 (p. 146); see also section 5 of this chapter.

As to the contents and the authenticity of the Mimas-oracle, we may compare it to the *versus heroos* prophesying the death of Constantius in 21.2.2 (pp. 26–27) and the *Graeci versus* predicting the consequences of the Gothic invasion in 31.1.4–5 (pp. 6–10). These oracles contain detailed information about the day of Constantius' death and the Gothic invasion respectively,

which is a sure sign that we are dealing with *vaticinia ex eventu*. The prediction in 29.1.33 that ‘the furies threatened the emperor by blazing death and fire’ (*principi caedes incendiaque flatantes furias imminere*) points in the same direction, since Valens’ death by fire could not have been foreseen. This raises the question as to when the Mimas-oracle was invented. The natural inference would be: after Valens had been burned to death, as Zawadzki, 1989, 275 seems to imply: “Leur prédiction se réalise sept ans plus tard quand Valens disparaît dans la bataille d’Andrinople”. Paschoud, 2014, 349, however objected: “Une précision fournie par Ammien exclut absolument cette hypothèse: dans le passage déjà mentionné 31, 14, 8–9, l’historien dit que, dans un premier temps, Valens ne s’inquiéta pas du nom Mimas mais que, plus tard, il en conçut une grande crainte. Il est donc évident que l’oracle a été connu de Valens, et a donc circulé avant 378.” However, the only obvious conclusion to be drawn from Amm.’s remark is, that the historian *believed* that Valens was aware of the oracle, just as he believed that the oracle predicting Constantius’ death was known to Julian, and that the oracle predicting the Gothic invasion had been carved in a stone in the ancient walls of Calchedon. It is not unlikely that Amm. manipulated the story about the Mimas-oracle to bring it in line with his characterisation of Valens as *rudis* and *inconsummatus*. As Wiebe, 1995, 100–106 argued, we may date the oracle even later than 378. Amm. introduces the Mimas-oracle in his report on the planned coup d’état of Theodorus (29.1.5–35). During a divinatory rite, initiated to discover the name of Valens’ successor, the first four letters Θ Ε Ο Δ of the name were revealed. One of the participants in the rite exclaimed spontaneously that the *notarius* Theodorus, a man with an excellent reputation, was meant, which, predictably, led to the execution of Theodorus himself and of all those who had participated in the forbidden enquiry. No reader of Amm. can have failed to realize that the oracle was right, but had been misunderstood. The real successor was, of course, Theodosius, as *epit.* 48.3–4 says in so many words: *De hoc* (Theodosio) *etiam oraculo in Asia divulgatum est eum Valenti successurum, cuius nomen e Θ et Ε et Ο atque Δ Graecis litteris initiaretur. Qua cognatione principii deceptus* (‘misled by the resemblance of these first letters’) *Theodorus, cum sibi imperium deberi praesumeret, scelestae cupidinis supplicia persolverat*. In Wiebe’s words (p. 106) “Manches spricht dafür...das “Theod”-Diktum auf die Fiktion eines *vaticinium ex eventu* zurückzuführen; fingiert in theodosianischer Zeit”. The oracle had—characteristically—been ambiguous; the initial interpretation was false, the correct interpretation was discovered much later.

*processu vero luctuum maximorum abiecte etiam timidus eiusdem sortis recordatione Asiae nomen horrebat, ubi Erythraeo oppido superpositum montem Mimanta et Homerum scripsisse et Tullium doctis referentibus audiebat* For *processus* with a gen. see TLL X 2.1525.47sq. When a string of disasters struck Valens, he became “abjectly nervous” (Hamilton). Lindenbrog emended V’s *abiecta etiam timidus* to *abiecte etiam timidus*, in which *etiam* is problematic. There is much to be said for *abiecte iam timidus*, in which *iam* has the same meaning as in 14.1.3 *supergressa iam potentia fines mediocrium delictorum* or 20.4.7 *pugnaces numeros barbarisque iam formidatos*. For Homer, mentioned ten times in the *Res Gestae*, and his authority see the note ad 21.14.5 (pp. 222–223). For Cicero, normally referred to by Amm. as Tullius, see the note ad 27.11.4 (p. 263). Erythrae (modern Ildir in Turkey) was located in Ionia; Talbert 56 C5. Mount Mimas was located north of Erythrae; Talbert 56 C4. Since the town lies at the foot of the mountain, Lindenbrog emended V’s *superpositum* to *superpositum*.

*denique post interitum eius discessumque hostilem prope locum, in quo cecidisse existimatus est, inventus dicitur saxeus monumenti suggestus, cui lapis affixus incisus litteris Graecis sepultum ibi nobilem quendam Mimanta veterem indicabat* Note the circumspect way in which Amm. introduces the discovery of the epitaph with the name of Mimas: *existimatus est, inventus dicitur*. For *suggestus* cf. 21.5.1 *saxeo suggestu insistens* and see ad 24.4.12 (p. 117). The adj. *vetus* refers to the remote past, e.g. 14.6.17 *Semiramidis reginae illius veteris*; 14.9.6 *Zenonem, illum veterem Stoicum*; 17.4.17 *notarum textus obelisco incisus est veteri*.

14.9

As regards the place where Valens would meet his fate, *mutatis mutandis* the same applies as in the case of the name of Valens’ successor. The initial interpretation of the words ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος turned out to be wrong, the correct interpretation was discovered later. When Valens had been informed by his learned advisers that Homer mentioned a mountain called Mimas on the coast of Asia opposite Chios (*Od.* 3.172 παρ’ ἡνεμόεντα Μίμαντα, ‘past windy Mimas,’ quoted by Cicero in *Att.* 16.13.2), he was afraid that he would meet his end there, and therefore avoided Asia. Only after he had fallen in Thrace did it become clear, that an altogether different Mimas was meant. Similar ambiguous predictions have been reported about king Cambyses and the emperor Julian. When Cambyses was mortally wounded, he asked the name of the city where he was at that moment. When he was told that the city was called Ἀγβάτανα, he realised that his hour had had come: Hdt. 3.64.4 Τῷ δὲ...ἐκέχρητο...ἐν Ἀγβάτανοισι τελευτήσῃν τὸν βίον. Ὁ μὲν δὲ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβάτανοισι ἐδόκεε τελευτήσῃν... τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον τοῖσι ἐν

Συρίη Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα (“Now a prophecy had come to him..., that he would end his life at Agbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die...at the Median Agbatana..., but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Agbatana of Syria”, tr. Godley). When Julian was lying wounded in his tent near Samarra in Persia he asked where he was. Upon hearing that he was in a place called Phrygia, he remembered an oracle given to him which predicted that he would meet his fate in Phrygia, which he had of course interpreted as Phrygia in Asia Minor, whereas the oracle had meant Phrygia in Persia; 25.3.9 (p. 76).

As regards the Mimas-oracle under discussion, Zawadzki, 1989, 282 has drawn attention to the fact that Mimas is also the name of one of the Giants, called Φλεγραῖος in A.R. 3.1227, because he was killed by Ares in the Gigantomachia on the Phlegraeon fields. There were Phlegraeon fields not only in Campania, but also in Thrace, according to Eust. *Comm. in Dion. Perieg.* 357, who, speaking about the Phlegraeon fields in Campania, remarks καθὰ καὶ ἐν Θράκη εἴρηται, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Γίγαντομαχίαν δὲ οὐ μόνον περὶ τὴν Θράκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόθι (‘just like those mentioned in Thrace, and the Gigantomachia took place not just in Thrace, but also there [i.e. in Campania]’). Many of these elements are found in Sen. *Her. F.* 984–987 (Zwierlein), quoted by Zawadzki on p. 283: *labat Cithaeron, alta Pellene tremit / Macetumque Tempe, rapuit hic Pindi iuga / hic rapuit Oeten, saevit horrendum Mimans. / flammifera Erinys verbere excusso sonat* (“Cithaeron lurches, high Pallene shakes, so does Macedonian Tempe. One Giant has seized the peaks of Pindus, another has seized Oeta, and Mima(n)s rages fearfully. The fire-bearing Fury is cracking her scourge”, tr. Fitch, adapted), in which the Gigantomachia is fought in northern Greece, and Mimas rages. The ‘fire-bearing’ Fury is reminiscent of *caedes incendiaque flatantes furias* in 29.1.33, while *saeva Tisiphone* makes an appearance in l. 989. The combination of these elements suggests, that the correct interpretation of the oracle ἐν πεδίοισι Μίμαντος would be ‘in the Phlegraeon fields of Thrace’.

Surprisingly, both Amm. and the Byzantine historians Cedrenus and Zonaras present a different interpretation, although it may be significant that the Byzantine sources both speak about Μίμαντα τὸν μέγαν, which seems to be a remnant of the interpretation of Mimas as a Giant. Cedrenus (pp. 549–550, Bonn) writes: πρὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς, ἐθεάσατο κατ’ ὄναρ ἄνδρα τινὰ λέγοντα αὐτῷ

τάχος βάδιζε πρὸς Μίμαντα τὸν μέγαν,  
ἐνθα μόρος σε δεινὸς ἀρπάσει τάλαν.

("And before his end, he beheld in a dream some man saying to him: 'Fast off with you, wretch, to Mimas the Great / Where there waits to seize you a horrible fate'" tr. Banchich). Zonaras' version in 13.16 is almost identical (he writes ἀρπάζει instead of ἀρπάσει). In both versions Valens does not know who Mimas is. When experts inform him that it is a mountain in Asia, mentioned by Homer, Valens asks why he should go there to meet his death. In Cedrenus the story ends thus: καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐξήλθε τῆς Θράκης πολεμήσων τοῖς Σκύθαις... ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀναχώρησιν ἀναζητούντων τινῶν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως, εὐρέθη ἐν ᾧ ἐκρύπτετο οἰκήματι τάφος ἀρχαίου τινὸς ἐπιγεγραμμένος οὕτως 'ἐνταῦθα κεῖται Μίμας Μακεδῶν στρατηγέτης.' ("And after a bit he departed from Thrace in order to war against the Scythians...And later, after the enemies' withdrawal, when some men were searching for the sovereign's body, there was discovered in the building in which he had been hiding a tombstone of a man of old, inscribed thus: 'Here lies Mimas, a Macedonian commander'", tr. Banchich, adapted). Zonaras' version is substantially the same, although he is more precise, writing περὶ τὴν Θράκην αὐτοῖς συμβαλὼν ("having engaged them around Thrace") instead of ἐξήλθε τῆς Θράκης ("he departed from Thrace") and ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ περ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέκαυτο ("in the house in which he had been burned") instead of ἐν ᾧ ἐκρύπτετο οἰκήματι ("in the building in which he had been hiding"). One gets the impression that neither Amm. nor the Byzantine historians were familiar with the giant Mimas, and that they understood the 'greatness' of Mimas in the oracle in the metaphorical sense of 'importance'. Hence στρατηγέτης and *nobilem quendam*. In any case there is no sign in the text of Amm. to indicate that he associated the battle of Adrianople with the Gigantomachia, as Zawadzki, 1989, 286 has suggested.

In the case of the oracles prophesying the death of Constantius in 21.2.2 (pp. 26–27) and the Gothic invasion in 31.1.4–5 (pp. 6–10) there were practically identical passages in Greek and Byzantine sources, Zosimus, Socrates and Sozomen. Likewise, in the present case the correspondences between the Byzantine sources Zonaras and Cedrenus and Amm. such as: *post... discessum hostilem* ≡ μετὰ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἀναχώρησιν; *lapis...incisis litteris Graecis sepultum ibi nobilem quendam Mimanta veterem...indicabat* ≡ ἐπιγεγραμμένος τάφος ἀρχαίου τινὸς can hardly be accidental. Both Ensslin, 1923, 87–96 and Wiebe, 1995, 102 have tentatively pointed to Nicomachus Flavianus as a possible common source for Amm. and the Greek sources in matters of divination, but as Ensslin himself avows on p. 88: "wir vermuten eine schriftliche Quelle für die umfangreicheren Exkurse, aber sie benennen können wir nicht". This does not alter the fact that Bleckmann,



2007, 28 is right when he states: “Gerade beim Mimas-Orakel schliessen aber die engen inhaltlichen Übereinstimmungen bei der Darstellung eines an sich absurden, aber sehr konkret beschriebenen Sachzusammenhangs und die teilweise wörtlichen Anklänge auf jeden Fall die Benutzung einer nur mündlich zirkulierenden Erzählung aus.”

Finally, the connection between the passages about the oracle in 29.1.33, emphatically repeated in 29.2.20 *namque caesorum ultimae dirae perpetuum numen ratione querellarum iustissima commoventes Bellonae accenderant faces, ut fides oraculi formaretur; quod nihil impune praedixerat perpetrari*, is, as Kulikowski, 2012, 185 himself admits “the best piece of evidence for continuous composition [of the *Res Gestae* as a whole] that exists”, and in our opinion a decisive argument against his proposition, that Book 31 was originally a separate monograph, later appended to a finished draft of the *Res Gestae*.

## CHAPTER 15

### *Introduction*

In the last two chapters of Book 31 Ammianus relates the aftermath of the battle of Adrianople. Chapter fifteen opens with a poignant description of the plight of the Roman survivors, followed by an account of the attempt of the Goths to capture Adrianople. They were after the high-level officials, the imperial insignia and the imperial coffers that had been taken to safety in the city, as they had heard from traitors and deserters (§1–3).

At sunrise on the day after their victory over the Roman army, on 9 August 378, the Goths marched to Adrianople and immediately attacked the city. Ammianus presents a lively narrative of the siege. He emphasizes the incompetence and the ferocity of the seemingly inexhaustible numbers of Goths who recklessly stormed the walls of Adrianople. In contrast, the Romans inside and outside the city walls were well organized, defended the city tirelessly, and took adequate measures for its defense.

This is the last siege narrative in the *Res Gestae*. There are earlier accounts of the sieges of Amida (19.2–8), Singara (20.6), Bezabde (20.7; 20.11.6–25), Aquileia (21.12.1–20), Anatha (24.1.6–12), Pirisabora (24.2.9–21) and Maozamalcha (24.4.2–30). In these accounts the besiegers are either Romans or Persians, who were both experienced in siege warfare and possessed the technical equipment and knowledge to capture a city.

The siege of Adrianople went on for two days (10–11 August). Ammianus singles out three events on the first day of the siege. Firstly, the defection of three hundred Roman infantrymen, who were consequently butchered by the Goths, after which nobody on the Roman side so much as considered a similar action (§4). Secondly, he mentions the Gothic attempt to deliver a letter requesting the surrender of the city with the promise that the lives of the inhabitants would be spared; when the messenger did not dare to enter the city, a Christian envoy was sent instead. However, the citizens of Adrianople declined the offer (§5–6). Thirdly, a failed stratagem of some *candidati*, who had gone over to the enemy. They asked for permission to enter the city, with the intention to set fire to a designated area, which would make the city defenseless. On being questioned the *candidati* made contradictory statements and, having revealed their treacherous intent under torture, they were executed (§7–9).

At midnight the Goths recommenced their assault on the city, which lasted until late in the day. The narrative of the second day is predominantly concerned with the useless bravery of the Goths who were powerless against the Roman artillery, and the determination of the defenders (§10–14). Especially the *onager/scorpio* instilled great terror into the Gothic besiegers so that they lost heart and pulled back (§12). At the end of the second day the Goths, after having suffered many casualties, ended their attempt to capture the city, remembering the warning of Fritigern during an earlier attack on Adrianople (31.6.4) not to sacrifice their forces unnecessarily in a siege (§15).

- 15.1 *Post exitialem pugnam cum iam tenebris nox terras implesset, hi, qui superfuere, dextra pars, alii laeva vel, quo metus traxerat, ferebantur quisque proximos quaerens, cum praeter se nihil singuli cernere poterant occipitiis propriis ferrum arbitantes haerere* Amm. returns to the narrative of 31.13.18, where he mentioned the loss of many officers who had died in the battle of Adrianople, and the survival of barely a third part of the Roman army. These survivors were groping around in the dark, looking for their closest companions in the night after the battle. For *exitia(bi)lis* cf. Suet. *Aug.* 23.1 (cladem) *Varianam paene exitiabilem tribus legionibus...et auxiliis omnibus caesis* and see ad 22.15.15 (p. 272). For *dextrā* and *laevā*, ‘to the right’ and ‘to the left’ cf. 16.10.10 *nec dextra vultum nec laeva flectebat* and Ov. *Met.* 5.167 *sic dubius Perseus, dextra laevane feratur*. For the Sallustianism *pars...alii* see TLL I 1642.56–81. Amm. uses *ferri* normally of swift or violent motion: 14.1.10 *instar rapidi fluminis irrevocabili impetu ferebatur*, 17.13.8 *in eos igneo miles impetu ferebatur*. Here the meaning is rather ‘to drift aimlessly’. Henri de Valois corrected V’s *cere* to *cernere* on the basis of 29.1.34 *nihil praeter se quisque cernens*, which expresses a feeling of total isolation. Every survivor of the battle “imagined that the enemy’s sword hung over his own head” (tr. Rolfe). As TLL IX 2.356.53–56 notes, this expression is found only in Amm. Cf. 24.6.12, 31.7.12 *haerente iam morte cervicibus*, 31.7.13 *fugientium occipitia...praecedentes et terga*.

*audiebantur tamen licet longius heiulatus miserabiles relictorum singultusque morientium et vulneratorum cruciabiles fletus* Note the appeal to the senses (*cernere, audiebantur*) by which the reader is made to share the feeling of desolation experienced by the vanquished, and see ad 31.7.11 (p. 134). The *miles quondam* knows from experience what he is talking about. The detail *licet longius* stresses the hopeless abandonment of the survivors. For the verb *heiulari* ‘to wail’ see ad 27.12.7 (p. 278); the noun *heiulatus* is found only here in the *Res Gestae*. For the synizesis in words ending in *-tium* see

Harmon 223. According to TLL IV 1217.51 the adj. *cruciabilis* is not found before Apuleius and Gellius. Amm. uses it both in the sense of ‘extremely painful’, e.g. 23.5.17 *cruciabilibus interiere suppliciis*, and ‘heartrending’, as here.

*Luce vero coeptante victores ut bestiae sanguinis irritamento atrocius efferatae spei inanis illecebris agitati Hadrianopolim agminibus petivere densetis eam vel cum discriminibus excisuri postremis* Cf. 20.4.14 *nocte vero coeptante*. The expression refers to the break of day after the battle, i.e. 10 August. The only other author who uses *coeptare* frequently is Tacitus; TLL III 1432.44 sqq. For the comparison of the Goths with *bestiae* and animal images in general cf. 31.8.9 (p. 150). In 28.6.13 (pp. 275–276) Amm. had, less aptly, compared the Berber tribe of the Austoriani to bloodthirsty birds of prey: *ut rapaces alites advolarunt irritamento sanguinis atrocius efferatae*. The reference to the ‘idle hope’ of the Goths is reminiscent of their *irrationabiles motus* mentioned in 31.12.15 (p. 217), and at the same time anticipates the failure of their attempt to raze (*excisuri*) Adrianople. For *densere* see ad 22.6.2 (p. 64); in his note ad loc. Viansino 3, 644 points to Verg. A. 7.794 *agmina densentur campis* as Amm.’s model. For *vel* ‘even’ (OLD s.v. 5) see ad 29.2.3 (p. 76).

Since the site of the battle was some 17–18 km northeast of Adrianople (see the note ad 31.12.11, p. 211), and sunrise was at about 5.30 a.m., it must have taken the Goths some four hours before they reached Adrianople, where they started their assault on the city at about 9.30 a.m. (see below ad § 3). For Adrianople (Talbert 51 H1) see ad 27.4.12 (p. 95).

*docti per proditores et transfugas potestatum culmina maximarum et fortunae principalis insignia thesaurosque Valentis illic ut arduo in munimento conditos esse* Cf. 31.12.10 *thesauri enim et principalis fortunae insignia cetera cum praefecto et consistorianis ambitu moenium tenebantur* (pp. 209–210). The preposition *per* is used with human beings as instrument adjuncts “if the social position of the agent of the clause and the other human beings involved allow it”, Pinkster I 875. The adj. *arduus* has the pregnant sense of “impregnable” (Rolfe). As Angliviél de la Beaumelle (n. 566) notes “Il est impossible d’identifier ces transfuges”. The identity of the traitors cannot be established either; see also the first note ad § 8 below. In Book 31 Amm. refers more than once to defectors and traitors who provided the Goths with information; see ad 31.7.7 (p. 129).

*et ne intervallatis ardor intepesceret moris, hora diei quarta ambitu cincto murorum infestissime certabatur oppugnatoribus genuina ferocia ad prae-*

*ceps exitium festinantibus contraque defensorum vigore validis viribus incitato* Amm. uses the verb *intervallare* more often than any other author. The present use is best compared to 26.1.3 *obituque intervallato brevi tempore principum* ‘and the death of (two) emperors with only a short interval in between’ (p. 16); see also ad 27.11.2 (p. 257). In both cases *brevi tempore* and *moris* (abl. pl. of *mora* ‘delay’) function as the subject in the abl. abs. For *ne...intepesceret* cf. 17.13.17 *ne alacritas intepesceret pugnatorum* and the note ad 20.10.1 (p. 235). Day (from sunrise to sundown) and night (from sundown to sunrise) were each divided into twelve hours. Depending upon the season and latitude, the length of the hour varied between three and five quarters of our modern hour; Bickermann, 1980<sup>2</sup>, 15. On 10 August the fourth hour began approximately at 9.30 a.m.; Seyfarth, 1986<sup>3</sup>, 367 n. 156. The Gothic assault on the city continued until the ninth hour (§ 4 below), i.e. between 2 and 4 p.m.; see the note ad 31.12.11 (p. 211). The adj. *genuinus* refers again to a native quality of non-Romans, for which see ad 30.5.10 (p. 121). For *praeceps exitium* see ad 22.11.7 (p. 205). As was noted ad 24.2.5 (p. 40), the phrase *validis cum viribus* first occurs in Enn. *Ann.* 298 Sk. The abl. abs. *vigore incitato* (‘their energy being aroused’) has presumably been added for the sake of alliteration.

The defenders of Adrianople consisted not only of those within the walls but also of the soldiers who had been left behind by Valens (*impedimentis et sarcinis prope Hadrianopoleos muros cum legionum tutela congrua collocatis*; 31.12. 10, pp. 209–210) and were staying outside the city walls.

- 15.4 *et quia militum calonumque numerus magnus civitatem cum iumentis introire prohibitus affixus parietibus moenium aedibusque continuis pro loci humilitate fortiter decernebat superaratque rabies imminantium ad usque horam diei nonam* The soldiers and stable boys mentioned here presumably belonged to the soldiers who had remained at Adrianople (see ad § 3 above). They had been prevented from entering the city, probably because it was overcrowded. For the *calones* see ad 23.2.8 (p. 33). The soldiers had to fight with their backs to the wall (see OLD s.v. 4b and TLL I 1215.55–56 for *affixus*). The combination of *parietes* with *moenia* is unique. In all likelihood Amm. wanted to distinguish between the city walls and the walls of the adjoining houses. The soldiers who were fighting in front of the walls had of course a hard time in comparison with the defenders who were standing on the walls, but still they put up a brave fight “considering the disadvantage of their low position” (Hamilton). V’s *superaretque* was defended by Frassinetti, 1966, 302, following Hagendahl, 1921, 126. While the alternation of indic. and subjunctive in causal clauses introduced by *cum* and *quod*, for which see ad

21.7.3 (p. 98), 22.1.2 (p. 4) and 27.10.12 (p. 246), is a well known phenomenon in Amm., there are only two instances of *quia* and *quoniam* with a subjunctive (31.10.15 *quia...defenderentur*, and 16.12.29 *quoniam...permitteret*), neither of them combined with an indic.; moreover the juxtaposition of *decerneretur* and *superaret* would be very harsh. The pluperfect *superarat*, which Accursius found in E, is therefore preferable: the frenzied besiegers (*rabies imminentium*) had been having the upper hand during five hours of fighting, before three hundred soldiers decided to go over to the enemy. For *superare* used absolutely cf. 21.12.12 (*munitorum...maerores*) *spe iam superandi firmabant* (“the doleful cries of the besiegers...encouraged their opponents to hope that they would get the upper hand”, tr. Hamilton).

For *ad usque horam diei nonam* see ad § 3 above.

*subito pedites nostri trecenti ex his, qui prope ipsas steteré loricas, conferti in cuneum desciverunt ad barbaros eosque illi avide raptos confestim incertum, quo consilio, trucidarunt; et ex eo deinceps observatum est neminem huiusmodi aliquid vel in desperatione rerum ultima cogitasse* The three hundred infantrymen formed part of the soldiers who had been left outside the city, and had been standing ‘close to the very walls’. We can only guess why they collectively went over to the Goths. The Goths must have distrusted their intentions, otherwise the fact that they were immediately killed is hard to understand.

See ad 24.5.2 (p. 151) for *lorica* in the sense of ‘breastwork’. Amm. writes the perfect *steterē* instead of *steterant* c.c. The Roman soldiers drew closely together before defecting to the enemy. For the expression *conferti in cuneum* cf. 17.13.8 *conferti acieque densiore contracta* and 19.18.1 *confertique in cuneos densos*. During a battle between the troops of Valens and those of Procopius, soldiers defecting to the enemy did so *cum vexillis scuta perversa gestantes, quod defectionis signum est apertissimum* (26.9.7, p. 254), but it is dubious whether the barbarians would have understood such a gesture. For the pronoun *ille* marking the switch from the subject *pedites* to the Goths see ad 29.5.39 (p. 199). The defectors were captured with alacrity (for *rapere* in this meaning cf. 31.6.7 *raptae sunt matres*) and immediately killed. See on this also the note ad § 8 below. For expressions with *incertum* followed by an interrogative pronoun see ad 21.7.6 (p. 103). After this terrible incident the battle between the Romans and the Goths will be fought out *ad interneccionem*.

*fervente itaque tot malorum congerie repente cum fragore caelesti imbres nubibus atris effusi dispersere circumfremantium globos* Heavy rainfall

ended the first day (10 August) of the Gothic attempt to capture Adrianople and forced the Gothic masses to withdraw to their laager. Amm. describes this unexpected turn in the siege in highly charged prose. For *fervere* “de bellis ardentibus”, which is rare in classical authors but common in Late Latin, see ad 20.6.5 (p. 142) and TLL VI 1.592.75–84. Amm. uses *congeries* both in its literal meaning ‘heap’ and metaphorically ‘accumulation’; for the latter cf. 20.1.1 *provincias praeteritarum cladum congerie fessas* (p. 3). As is noted in TLL VI 1.1233.38, Amm. shares his predilection for *fragor* with the epic poets; see ad 29.2.21 (pp. 105–106). Like *rabies imminetium* in the preceding section *circumfremere* emphasizes the ferocity of the barbarians; cf. 16.11.1 *Germanicis undique circumfremetibus minis*, 21.13.13 *circumfrementes Illyricum nationes exteris* (p. 207).

*reversique ad vallum dimensum tereti figura plaustorum* This is a periphrasis for the Germanic word *carrago*, which Amm. uses in 31.7.7 (p. 130); cf. 31.7.5 *ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digesta plaustorum* (pp. 127–128), *intra saeptorum ambitum* (31.7.8), *intra vehiculorum amfractus* (31.8.1) and *carpenta...ad speciem rotunditatis detornatae digesta* (13.12.11, pp. 211–212). The wagons are arranged in a circle (*tereti figura*) and form a wall around the laager. Other examples of passively used *dimensus* are quoted ad 29.1.30 (p. 48). For *teres* ‘round’ cf. 16.10.14 *Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam* (“the Pantheon like a rounded city-district, vaulted over in lofty beauty”, tr. Rolfe).

*immanes spiritus latius porrigentes iubebant nostris per minaces litteras et legatum dedere civitatem fide retinendae salutis accepta* Since sieges were time-consuming and costly affairs, aggressors frequently offered favourable terms of surrender to the beleaguered. See for other instances 19.1.3–5, 20.6.3, 20.7.3–4, 21.12.4, 24.1.8 and 24.2.9.

The different shades of meaning of *spiritus* are discussed ad 29.5.44 *spiritu aggressus ingenti* (p. 204). Here it denotes pride and belligerence. See Seager 4–7 on Amm.’s predilection of *immanis* and Brandt, 1999, 217–228 on “Arroganz”. The literal meaning of *late/latius porrigere* is ‘to stretch out over a wide(r) surface’, as in Sal. Jug. 52.6 (Bomilcar) *aciem, quam...arte statuerat...latius porrigit* (“he stretched out his battle line, which he had previously...drawn up in close order”, tr. Rolfe). Here it is used metaphorically, as in Apul. Met. 10.18 *latius munificentiam suam porrigebat* (“in a generous sharing of munificence”, tr. Hanson). The Goths are ‘widening’ their ambitions, and even demand the surrender of a whole city. There is a note on *iubere* with dative, which is found occasionally in classical

texts and with increasing frequency in Late Latin, ad 26.8.5 (pp. 221–222). As the next section shows, *per minaces litteras et legatum* is a hendiadys. *Fides* here has the meaning of “guarantee” (OLD s.v. 2), as in 26.6.14 *fide salutis data* (pp. 156–157) and 27.12.6 *fide non amittendae salutis accepta* (p. 278).

*verum introire non auso, qui missus est, per Christianum quendam portatis scriptis et recitatis, utque decebat, contemptatis parandis operibus dies et nox omnis absumpta* 15.6 The messenger was sent late in the day on 10 August. Out of fear for his life, he did not dare to enter the city. Regrettably, Amm. does not explain why the Christian, who then (in priestly garb?) brought the letter inside, showed greater courage. Christians acting as envoys are a well-known phenomenon in the fourth century, as is noted ad 29.5.15 (p. 172) and 31.12.8 (p. 206); Matthews, 1978, 673–675. In 20.7.7 (pp. 162–163) a bishop asks Sapor to end the siege of Bezabde. In 29.5.15 (p. 172) Firmus sends bishops to the general Theodosius for peace talks, and at Adrianople Fritigern sends a priest to Valens with proposals to avoid the battle.

There is good reason to suspect *contemptatis*: TLL IV.656.17–19 mentions, apart from the *Notae Tironianae*, just one instance of this frequentativum (Gaudent. *serm.* 18, p. 978<sup>c</sup>), and *utque decébat contemptátis* is not a regular *cursus*. Still, there remains a lingering doubt that Amm. may have thought *portatis*—*recitatis*—*contemptatis* an effective climax, and Blomgren 172 rightly observed that there are more frequentativa that are found only in Amm. It seems prudent therefore to keep the text as transmitted in V. For *opera* ‘defensive works’ cf. 20.7.11 *naturali situ et ingenti opere munitum oppidum*.

*nam intrinsecus silicibus magnis obstrusae sunt portae et moenium intuta firmata et ad emittenda undique tela vel saxa tormenta per locos aptata sunt habiles aggestaque prope sufficiens aqua. pridie enim dimicantium quidam siti ad usque ipsa vitae detrimenta vexati sunt* On siege warfare in Late Antiquity see the literature cited ad 31.6.4 (p. 114). Vegetius’ Book 4 is entirely dedicated to this subject. He devotes five chapters to preparations—mainly discussing the stockpiling of supplies—for a siege (*mil.* 4.7–11); chapter 4.10 is especially dedicated to ensure the water supply for those under siege. About *tormenta* Vegetius (*mil.* 4.8.7) remarks: *Nam obpugnantium machinis per alias machinas consuevit obsisti* (“Besiegers’ machines are usually resisted by means of other machines”, tr. Milner).

According to TLL IX 2.253.84–254.1 *obstrudere*, apart from one highly dubious instance in Ovid, occurs only in archaic Latin and re-emerges from



Apuleius onwards. In 16.12.43 it means ‘to pack together’ and is construed with a dative: (pulvis) *arma armis corporaque corporibus obtrudebat* (p. 257). Here the meaning is ‘the gates were secured with huge boulders’. The phrase *moenium intuta firmata* was probably inspired by Tac. *Hist.* 3.76.2 *non vigiliis agere, non intuta moenium firmare*. For artillery (*tormenta*) see the digression in 23.4 and below, 31.15.12. Amm. is obviously thinking of *ballistae* ‘catapults’ and *scorpiones* or *onagri* ‘stone-throwing engines’. The engines are placed *per locos...habiles* ‘on places that were suitable’, not just strategically, but also strong enough to bear the impact of the heavy *scorpiones*; see 23.4.5. For *prope* ‘from nearby’ see OLD s.v. 1b.

- 15.7 *Contra Gothi reputantes difficiles Martis eventus anxique, cum sterni et sauciari cernerent fortiores et particulatim vires suas convelli* The phrase *difficiles Martis eventus* ‘difficult results of battle’ is highly problematical. Translators either force the meaning of *difficilis*: “the dangerous chances of war” (Rolfe), “the uncertainties of war” (Hamilton) or that of *eventus*: “(songeant aux) aléas difficiles de Mars” (Sabbah), “die schwierigen Wechselfälle des Krieges” (Seyfarth). However, *difficilis* is not the same as *anceps* and *eventus* is not a synonym of *casus*. Could it be that the text is corrupt? The solution is provided by the description of the siege of Amida in 19.7. There Amm. reports that the Persians built siege towers which were higher than the walls of the city, with the result that they were able to inflict severe losses on the defenders: 19.7.5 *quia hostiles ballistae...in humiliora ex supernis valentes ut loco dispari ita eventu dissimili nostra multo cruore foedabant* ‘because the enemy’s ballistae...were effective from their higher place against those lower down, on account of their different position they had a different result and caused terrible carnage on our side’ (Rolfe). The present passage is totally similar, since Amm. had reported in the preceding section that the defenders of Adrianople installed artillery on their walls, with the result that the attackers were at a disadvantage. It is therefore highly likely that the text should be emended to *reputantes dissimiles Martis eventus* ‘realizing that the results of the fighting were unequal’. Needless to say that in the Carolingian minuscule *difficilis* and *dissimilis* are practically indistinguishable.

In 31.6.3 Amm. had already reported that precisely the bravest barbarians were the victims of their ignorance of siege warfare: *passim et promisce ruebant eminensque aliquorum audacia peribat inulta*; cf. also 31.15.3: *oppugnantoribus genuina ferocia ad praeceps exitium festinantibus*. For *particulatim* cf. 31.7.2 *ubi particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia multitudo minui deberet hostilis* (sc. Gothorum); for *convellere* ‘to batter’ see ad 31.3.8 (p. 50).

*astutum iniere consilium, quod ipsa indicante Iustitia publicatum est* Cf. 21.4.1 *iniit consilium tale*; Cic. *Cat.* 4.13 *initum delendae rei publicae consilium*. At first sight the intervention of Lady Justice, who reveals the cunning plot of the barbarians, differs from her earlier actions. In 22.3.7 (pp. 29–30) she weeps at the unjust condemnation of Ursulus, in 26.9.10 (p. 259) she justifies the execution of people who tried to kill an emperor, in 27.11.4 (p. 262) she opposes the protection given to criminals, in 28.6.25 (p. 292) and 30.2.9 (p. 42) she avenges the victims of Romanus' misrule of the Tripolitans, in 29.2.20 (p. 105) she sees to it that no injustice should go unpunished. In all these situations she reacts to judicial wrongdoings. In the present case she intervenes in a battle. Was this also a matter of right and wrong? In Amm.'s opinion the answer is affirmative. As Brandt, 1999, 278 rightly argues “die Verteidigung der (römischen) Heimat (darf) zweifellos als *iustum* und *facinus bonum* gelten”, pointing to 25.9.2 (p. 282) about the citizens of Nisibis *satis confisi affuturam iustitiam pro genitili sede dimicaturis* and to the present passage. See also Brodka, 2009, 110, who aptly compares 31.7.9 (Romani) *eventum...prosperum...ob iustiore sui causam mentibus exspectantes impavidis*. In addition, as the next section will show, the Goths intended to make use of Roman defectors. It was obvious that the betrayal of these men had to be frustrated.

*partis enim nostrae candidatos aliquos, qui die praeterito ad eos defecerant, pellexere, ut simulata fuga velut ad propria remeantes intra muros suscipi se curarent* In Amm. *pars nostra* refers either to Roman territory, as in 16.9.3 *Tamsaporem ducem partis nostrae contiguum* or to the Roman army, as here and in 24.3.1 *procursatorum partis nostrae tres turmas*. For the (white-uniformed) *candidati* see ad 31.13.14. It is unclear to which *candidati* Amm. refers. Could they have been among the three hundred soldiers who had defected the day before despite the fact that Amm. reports that these had all been killed? This would be in line with Seyfarth, 1986<sup>3</sup>, 367 n. 158: “Der Autor widerspricht hier seiner eigenen, dort [i.e. in § 4] gemachten Aussage. Allerdings scheinen die kaiserlichen Leibwächter, die unter den Überläufern waren, verschont worden zu sein”. Or should we assume that there were two groups of Roman soldiers who had defected to the Goths on the previous day? A third possibility is that these *candidati*, in spite of Amm.'s *die praeterito*, had been captured by the Goths in the immediate aftermath of the battle at Adrianople. In 13.13.16 Amm. mentions the case of a *candidatus* who was taken prisoner by the Goths after his escape from the farmhouse where Valens was hiding. Other *candidati* could also have been captured on this occasion. Although there were many barbarians serving in the imperial

15.8

guard, these *candidati* may all have been Romans; cf. § 9 below *ut Romanos semet admitti poscebant*.

*Curare* is followed by AcI also in 14.6.8 (statuas) *auro curant imbratteam* 'they see to it that their statues are covered in gold' and 28.4.25 *eum...ut veneficum curat urgeri* 'he sees to it that he is accused of poisoning'.

*ingressique latenter quandam incenderent partem, ut tamquam signo erecto occultius, dum circa exstinguendum incendium distringitur multitudo clausorum, civitas perrumperetur impugnata* For *latenter* see ad 31.10.11 (p. 169). The fire, that the traitors must start, is compared to the usual red flag, raised to signal the beginning of an attack; cf. 20.6.3 *signo per flammum erecto vexillum circumvaditur civitas* (pp. 139–140) and 27.10.9 *vexillum opperiens extollendum, quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae* (pp. 239–240). *Occultius* refers to the hidden meaning of the fire. For *distringere* 'to detain' see ad 24.7.6 (p. 218), for *clausi* 'the besieged' ad 20.6.8 (pp. 148–149) and for *impugnatus* ad 26.5.12 (p. 119).

- 15.9 *perrexere, ut statutum est, candidati, cumque prope fossas venissent, manus tendentes orantesque ut Romanos semet admitti poscebant* Amm. does not use the phrase (*ut*) *statutum est* in Books 14–25, whereas in 26–31 it is found nine times. *Manus tendentes orantesque* is a hendiadys; see ad 20.4.15 (p. 89). The verb *poscere* is always followed by a direct object in the accusative or by an AcI, as here and in 31.4.1 *suscipi se humili prece poscebant*; the only exceptions being 29.6.5 *ne quid novaretur, modeste poscentem* and explicative *ut* in 30.2.2 *aliud poscens, ut...Aspacures solus regnare permetteretur*.

Like walls, trenches were part of the defences of cities, and are regularly mentioned by Amm.; 19.8.4 (Amida); 20.7.2 (Bezabde); 21.12.13 (Aquileia); 24.2.11 (Pirisabora); 24.4.12 (Ma[i]ozamalcha); 29.6.11 (Sirmium). They should be as wide and deep as possible, and filled with water in order to prevent tunnels; cf. Veg. *mil.* 4.5 *Fossae autem ante urbes latissimae altissimaeque faciendae sunt, ut nec facile possint coaequari replerique ab obsidentibus et, cum aquis coeperint redundare, ab adversario cuniculum continuari minime patiantur. Nam duplici modo opus subterraneum peragi, earum altitudine et inundatione, prohibetur* ('Fosses before cities should be made as wide and deep as possible, so that they cannot easily be levelled and filled in by besiegers and, once they begin to overflow with floodwater, hardly permit a sap to be continued by the enemy. A subterranean work is prevented from being constructed in two ways, by the depth and by the flooding of fosses', tr. Milner). Trier had a ditch 15 m. in width and 4–5 m. in depth; Constantinople's ditch was 20 m. wide and around 7 m. deep; Elton, 1996, 169.

*et recepti, quia nulla erat suspicio, quae vetaret, interrogatique super consiliis hostium variarunt. unde factum est, ut cruenta quaestione vexati cervicibus perirent abscisis, quid acturi venerant, aperte confessi* For *super* = *de* see ad 14.7.12 (pp. 40–41) and Szantyr 281 (“allgemein im Spätlatein”). The verb *variare* may refer to contradictory statements made by one and the same person, as in 19.12.12 about the philosopher Demetrius *adhaerens eculeo* (‘the rack’) *cum...nequaquam varians eadem oraret* (‘declared’) or to contradictory statements by different people, as here and in 29.1.28 *cum...variarent, fodicatis lateribus...aperiunt negotii fidem* “because they were at variance with each other...their sides were furrowed and (they) gave a true account of the whole business” (tr. Rolfe, adapted). For *quaestio* ‘interrogation (with torture)’ see ad 26.10.9 (p. 282), 29.1.6 (p. 13) and 29.1.35 (p. 58). The *candidati* were beheaded. The expression *cervice abscisa* is found in 14.11.23 (Gallus), 26.3.3 (Hilarinus) and 26.9.9 (Procopius). For the use of the indic. in indirect questions see De Jonge ad 14.6.2 (p. 89, sprachlich) and Szantyr 538.

*Omni itaque bellandi apparatu praestructo adventante vigilia tertia barbari abolito praeteritorum vulnerum metu in urbis obseratos aditus multiplicatis ordinibus inundarunt et obstinationem repugnantium ... ere* After the failed stratagem of the *candidati* Amm. returns to the defensive measures taken by the besieged, described in section 6. The verb *praestructure*, for which see De Jonge’s extensive note ad 16.6.1 (p. 61), is also used for the preparations of the inhabitants of Singara in 20.6.2 *cunctisque praestructis stabant omnes armati multitudinem parati propellere, si moenia subire temptasset*. For the abl. abs. *abolito metu* cf. 22.5.2 *abolitis, quae verebatur* (p. 52). The genitive depending on *metu* may be paraphrased as ‘the fear inspired by the wounds inflicted the day before’. Heraeus’ *metu* (for V’s *metum*) is better than *metu in* (EA), since *inundare in* is without parallel. Donatus writes ad Verg. A. 11.466 *pars aditus urbis firment turrisque: aditus urbis portae sunt vel minores ingressus, qui muniendi fuerant omni cura, ne hostis intraret*. The detail *obseratos* recalls *obstrusae sunt portae* in §6 above. *Ordo*, for which see ad 20.5.7 (p. 125), is used in its military meaning ‘rank’: ‘line after line’ of barbarians attacked the gates.

V’s *et obstinationem magnantium maloeare* is emended in many different ways, none of which is entirely convincing. The ms. E reads *et obstinatione magnatium maiore*, possibly a conjecture by Piccolomini, which was accepted by Sabbah, who translates “et avec une obstination plus grande chez leurs chefs”. However, the fact that *magnates* is extremely rare (TLL VIII 103.75 sqq.) and never used by Amm. makes this very unattractive. In the next sentence, introduced by *at*, we read that the besieged defended themselves

energetically, so that we may assume, that the preceding words described a fierce attack. This would tally with *obstinatione magna* (cf. 19.2.10 *obstinatione utrimque magna decernebatur*), but the end of the sentence remains beyond repair.

Blockade and assault are the two main methods of siege. Clearly, the Goths opted for the latter. Night-watches were divided into four periods of three hours, called *vigiliae*; Veg. *mil.* 3.8.17 *Et quia impossibile videbatur in speculis vigilantes singulos permanere, ideo in quattuor partes ad clepsydrum sunt divisae vigiliae, ut non amplius quam tribus horis nocturnis necesse sit vigilare* (“Because it was clearly impossible for individuals to remain constantly awake in their look-out posts, the night-watches have been divided into quarters by the water-clock, ensuring that it is necessary to be awake for no more than three hours a night”, tr. Milner); see Le Bohec, 2002. The third night-watch started at midnight, which implies that the Goths attacked shortly before this hour (*adventante vigilia tertia*). Nightly attacks were not unusual. At Amida the Gauls rushed out against the Persians at night: *observata nocte squalida et interlunio* (19.6.7). At Artogerassa the supporters of the Armenian queen did the same: *et spe potiorum erecti secretis colloquiis ordinarunt hora praestituta nocturna reclusis subito portis validam manum erumpere vallumque hostile caedibus aggredi repentinis* (27.12.7, p. 279).

*at cum armatis provinciales et palatini ad obruendos eos excitatius exsurgabant et cuiusce modi tela in multitudine tanta vel temere missa cadere sine noxa non poterant* The participation of civilians, including women and children, in the defence of their city is attested in many accounts of sieges; Rance, 2015b, 895. Together with the soldiers and court officials—31.12.10 (pp. 209–210) mentions the praetorian prefect and the members of the *consistorium*—left behind in Adrianople by Valens, the inhabitants (*provinciales*) defended the city. Angliviel de la Beaumelle in n. 572 rightly draws attention to the importance that Amm. attached to the unity displayed by the military, the citizens of Adrianople and the courtiers, which was the key to their success in defending the city.

For the adverb *excitate* “i.q. vehementius, fortius” see TLL V 2.1263.37. The vulnerability of closely packed soldiers is a recurrent motif in siege descriptions, cf. 19.2.13 (*tela*) *nulla frustra mittebantur inter hominum cadentia densitatem*, 19.7.4 *nullo paene iaculi genere in vanum cadente*, 20.7.6 *sagittarum enim nimbi crebrius volitantes stantes confertius perforabant*.

15.11 *animadversum est a nostris isdem telis barbaros uti, quibus petebantur. ideoque mandatum est, ut nervis ferrum lignumque conectentibus ante iac-*

*tum incisus emitterentur arcu sagittae* Bitter 144 mentions inter alia the following parallel: 27.1.3 *visos eminus barbaros Romani sagittis aliisque levibus iaculis incessebant, quae illi reciprocis iactibus valide contorquebant* (“which the enemy vigorously returned throw for throw”, tr. Rolfe). *Nervus* in connection with *sagitta* normally means the bowstring. Here it is the cord, that fastens the arrowhead to the shaft. The soldiers are ordered to notch the cord in such a way that the arrowhead breaks loose from the shaft when it hits the ground.

It is of crucial importance that the Goths had no artillery at their disposal, since fire power was decisive in bombarding the city walls as a preliminary to the actual assault; 19.2.8; 20.7.6; 24.2.9–15; Veg. *mil.* 4.21.1; Zos. 3.21.1–3.

*quae volitantes vires integras inservabant, infixae vero corporibus nihil vigoris perdebant aut certe, si cecidissent in vanum, ilico frangebantur* Unless the subjunctive *cecidissent* is interpreted as iterative, the *si*-clause introduces a slight irregularity into this sentence. The three main verbs in the indicative describe how the arrows functioned: they flew, they retained their power, they broke. The subj. *cecidissent*, however, suggests the meaning ‘if they should miss their target, they would break’ (in oratio recta: *si ceciderint, frangentur*).

Haupt, 1876, 507 rightly suspected V’s *inservabant*, because *inservare* is used almost exclusively by Statius as an equivalent of *observare*; TLL VII 1.1882.80–81. The prefix *in-* is probably due to the preceding and following words. For *integras servare* cf. 19.6.12 (statuae) *quae ad praesens servantur intactae* and 24.7.5 *duodecim tantummodo naves potuerunt intactae servari*.

For Amm.’s idiosyncratic use of *aut certe* and *vel certe* see the note ad 25.2.6 (p. 51). In the present passage it is not used to mitigate a preceding statement, nor does it express the preferred alternative, but rather the alternative that matters in the context: the arrowhead must come loose to prevent the barbarians from using the arrow again. The expression might be paraphrased ‘or (and this is the important thing) if they had missed their target, they broke immediately.’

*dedit autem rebus ita flagrantibus grave momentum casus admodum inopinus* Amm. loves fire metaphors; see ad 21.11.1 (p. 148) and for *flagrare* ad 21.12.23 (p. 183). In many instances of *momentum* in Amm. the metaphor of the balance is still detectable. This is the case in 14.11.26 (Adrastia) *incrementorum detrimentorumque momenta versans* (“tilting changeably...the balance of gain and loss”, tr. Rolfe), 22.9.9 *causarum momenta aequo iure perpendens* ‘weighing the evidence in the cases impartially’ (also in 26.10.10,

29.1.27), and in phrases meaning that two opposing sides balanced each other out, as in 16.12.43 *pugnabatur paribus diu momentis*, 24.2.14 *dimicabatur...neutrubi inclinato momento proelium atrox* and 31.16.5 *aequis partes discessere momentis*. In other cases the notion of 'swift movement' or 'change' is predominant, as in the present passage: 'an entirely unexpected chance brought about an important change'; cf. 15.5.30 (soldiers) *ad momentum omne versabiles* "swayed by any influence" (tr. Rolfe), 18.7.7 *inter rapienda momenta periculorum* 'amidst the swiftly changing dangers which had to be met' (with which cf. 25.8.2 *temere rapiendo momenta periculorum*, p. 254), 24.4.19 *nihil tam leve est, quod non interdum...rerum offerat momenta magnarum* and 26.8.14 (licet) *momentum pertimesceret grave*. In the remaining instances the meaning is temporal, as in 29.1.39 *ridens subitas momentorum ruinas* 'laughing at the sudden disasters that occur in a moment', 14.4.1 *momento temporis parvi*, 22.16.7 and 25.2.4 *ad momentum* 'for the moment'.

*scorpio*, genus tormenti, quem onagrum sermo vulgaris appellat, e regione contra hostium aciem densam locatus lapidem contorsit ingentem, qui, licet humo frustra illisus est, visus tamen ita eos metu exanimavit, ut stupore spectaculi novi cedentes e medio abire temptarent. Amm. has given a detailed description of the stone thrower in 23.4.4–7 (pp. 64–69). *Scorpio* seems to be an old-fashioned term for this engine, as witness 23.4.4 *quem appellant nunc onagrum* and 23.4.7 *cui etiam onagri vocabulum indidit aetas novella*. In Vegetius *onager* is the normal term. The defenders of Amida also positioned *scorpiones* on their walls directly opposite the Persian artillery: cf. 19.7.6 (*scorpiones*) *e regione caute, quod artis est difficillimae, collocantur*. As regards *tormenti* and *contorsit* cf. 23.4.7 *tormentum quidem appellatur ex eo, quod omnis explicatio torquetur* 'it is called a *tormentum*, because every launch is caused by torsion' (p. 69). For *frustra* 'without hitting anyone' cf. 19.2.13 (*tela*) *nulla frustra mittebantur inter hominum cadentia densitatem*. The ptc. *visus* is used dominantly: 'the sight of it'. The barbarians shied away and tried to leave the battlefield (*e medio abire temptarent*), but their commanders stopped them.

*Onagri* and other war machines were used both by besiegers and besieged; Veg. mil. 4.8.7 *Nam obpugnantium machinis per alias machinas consuevit obsisti*; 4.22.1 *Adversum haec obsessos defendere consueverunt ballistae onagri scorpiones arcuballistae fustibali sagittarii fundae*. About these machines Veg. mil. 4.29.3–4 remarks: *Ballistae vero et onagri, si a peritis diligentissime temperentur, universa praecedunt, a quibus nec virtus ulla nec munimina possunt defendere bellatores. Nam more fulminis quicquid percusserint aut dissolvere aut inrumpere consueverunt* ("But catapults and

magonels, provided they are tuned very carefully by experts, surpass everything else. No amount of courage or armour can defend soldiers from them. For like a thunderbolt, they generally either smash or pierce whatever they hit", tr. Milner).

*sed bucinis optimatum monitu occinentibus instauratum est proelium et pari modo res Romana superior stetit nullo ferme alio telo vel funditoris amento in cassum excusso* For *bucina* see the note ad 31.6.2 (p. 110) and for the use of *optimates* for non-Romans ad 31.2.7 (p. 23). There is a note about ablatives in -u like *monitu* ad 31.4.5 (p. 64). The verb *occinere* or *occanere* is rare; TLL IX 2.330.78–83. The prefix *ob-* suggests the meaning “to interpose a call” (OLD s.v. 2); cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.81.2 *tum Sentius occanere cornua tubasque...iussit* with Goodyear’s note. The defenders still have the upper hand, as was reported in section 7 of this chapter. The expression *res Romana superior stetit* is in all likelihood borrowed from Livy, the only other author who uses it, e.g. 1.52.4 *in eo foedere superior Romana res erat*, 2.51.3 *ibi quamquam parvo momento superior Romana res fuit*, 26.4.9 *equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit*. V’s text *nullo ferme ali telo vel fundoris amento* poses two problems. The easiest solution for *ali* is of course to read *alio*, in which case *alio* refers to the huge boulder, mentioned in the preceding section, which had not hit anyone. The fact that *telum* strictly speaking does not belong to the same category as *lapis* is no decisive objection; see ad 24.1.11 (pp. 20–21). Petschenig, 1893, 117 conjectured *murali*, which is ingenious, but not strictly necessary. Henri de Valois’ proposal to read *funditoris* instead of *fundoris* must be right, but *amento* is very problematic. It is the only instance of *am(m)entum* (“throwing strap”, OLD s.v. 1) in the *Res Gestae*, a word which is never used in connection with a *funda* ‘sling’, but only with a spear. The participle *excusso*, moreover, needs a projectile as its subject. We must therefore either suppose that Amm. uses the word mistakenly in that sense (this is how TLL I 1885.78–80 explains it away [“i.q. ipsum iaculum”]), or the corruption goes deeper and a crux is appropriate.

*agmina enim prae-euntium ductorum, quos rapiendi Valentis malis lucrationibus quaesita cupiditas incendebat, secuti ceteri prae se ferebant aequiperasse discrimina potiorum* The word *agmina* suggests, that the *ductores* (see ad 25.1.2, pp. 5–6), probably identical with the *optimates* mentioned earlier in this section, and the following *potiores* must have been fairly numerous. In 31.7.9 Amm. had called them *male sanos...ut rabidas feras*. They burned with desire to lay their hands on Valens’ “ill-gotten riches” (Hamilton). Gruter’s *quaesita* is a plausible emendation of V’s *quaesti*, for which cf. 24.1.15



*bellatores enim libenter quaesitis dextris propriis utebantur* ("our warriors were glad to make use of the spoil won by their own hands", Hamilton). The same applies to Heraeus' *lucrationibus* 'gains' (V's *lucubrationibus* looks like a "Verschlimmbesserung"). Truly surprising is Amm.'s casual remark about the way in which Valens had acquired his possessions. Although it is in keeping with earlier criticisms in the elogium of Valens (e.g. *alienis gemitibus libenter emolumenta fructusque conquirens*, 31.14.5, p. 250), it seems totally out of place after the report of the emperor's death on the battlefield and in the context of the siege of Adrianople. It betrays the deep-seated aversion of the historian to this emperor.

The reason why Amm. uses the inf. perf. *aequiperasse* instead of *aequipere* is provided by the following *nam*-clause. For the omission of *se* in the Acl see ad 28.6.21 (p. 286).

*namque semineces aliqui aut magnis obtriti ponderibus vel confixi iaculis pectora volvebantur* These words call Vergilian battle scenes to mind: A. 9.433 *volvitur Euryalus leto*, 11.635 *semianimes volvuntur equi*, 12.329 *seminecis volvit multos* (see Tarrant's note ad loc.). The division *aut—vel* refers to victims of the *scorpiones* and the *ballistae* respectively. For the so-called 'Greek' accusative *pectora* see Appendix D of Harrison's commentary on *Aeneid* 9 and Pinkster I 266–267.

*nonnulli scalas vehendo ascensumque in muros ex latere omni parantes sub oneribus ipsis obruebantur contrusis per pronum saxis et columnarum fragmentis et cylindris* For the use of ladders by the besiegers to climb the walls, see Veg. *mil.* 4.21.1–2. The variation *vehendo—parantes* illustrates the use of the abl. gerundii as an equivalent of the present participle. Both V's *innumeros* and Henri de Valois' *in muros* are completely superfluous. We have here either a contamination of *ascensus undique temptabatur* (20.11.9) and *scalas vehentibus multis impetum conabantur in muros* (20.11.21) or an insertion into the text of a marginal gloss *in muros*. The addition of *ipsis* means, that the attackers are crushed under the weight of the ladders they were carrying, as these were hit by the stones pushed from the walls. For *cylindrus* 'drum of a column' see TLL IV 1586.56–60.

- 15.14 *nec quemquam furentium cruoris horrenda species ad serum usque diem ab alacritate faciendi fortiter avertebat hoc incitante, quod etiam defensorum plurimos cadere diversis ictibus videntes eminus laetabantur. ita sine requie ulla vel modo pro moenibus et contra moenia ingentibus animis pugnabatur* As Seager 48 remarks in his chapter 'The Rhetoric of Excess' about this

section, “the most dramatic language is reserved for the Goths” and on p. 57 “there are some cases of madness among Romans, but far more often this is a characteristic of barbarians”. The only parallel for *ad serum usque diem* is Tac. *Hist.* 3.82.3. For *alacritas* ‘fighting spirit’ see ad 31.7.15. *Facere fortiter* occurs six times in the *Res Gestae*; it is almost a t.t. for ‘showing one’s bravery’. The battle continued until late in the day on 11 August.

*et quia nullo ordine iam, sed per procursus pugnabatur et globos, quod desperationis erat signum extremae* Cf. 14.2.14 about the Isaurians *concepta rabie saeviore, quam desperatio incendebat et fames*. During the siege of Amida the Persian army showed how experienced soldiers behaved during a siege: *non inordinatim...sed tubarum sonitu leni ductante nullis procursantibus incedebant* (19.7.3). The Goths by contrast sallied out (*per procursus*) in separate groups (*globos*). Viansino aptly compares Liv. 22.41.1 *tumultuario proelio ac procursu magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto*. For *globus* see ad 31.5.9 (p. 93). 15.15

*flexo in vesperam die digressi omnes rediere ad tentoria tristes inconsideratae dementiae alter alterum arguentes, quod non, ut suaserat antea Fritigernus, obsidionales aerumnas ubique declinarunt* The abl. abs. is clearly written in imitation of Tac. *Ann.* 1.16.3, the only other instance of this phrase. With *tentoria* Amm. probably refers to the laager (*carrago*) of the Goths. In 31.6.4 Fritigern had advised the Goths not to risk their lives by attacking walled cities with the memorable remark *pacem sibi esse cum parietibus* (p. 114). The fact that the Goths had attacked Adrianople against his advice suggests that the Gothic leader was not present at the siege. For the use of the perfect *declinarunt* instead of *declinarant* see ad 26.8.11 (p. 231), 27.8.7 (p. 197) and 28.6.28 (p. 296).



## CHAPTER 16

### *Introduction*

The siege of Adrianople ended in a fiasco. After two days of heavy fighting at the cost of many lives, the Goths decided to raise the siege and to use Perinthus as a base for their predatory raids. Defectors, acting as guides, showed them the way to the riches of the region, which they plundered to their hearts' content (§ 1). The inhabitants of Adrianople left the city by night and took the imperial treasure with them, in the hope to find Valens, not knowing that the emperor had fallen during the battle against the Goths (§ 2). Fritigern persuaded Huns and Alans with promises of huge booty to join forces with the Goths. Together they ravaged the fertile country around Perinthus without meeting any resistance (§ 3). Since the fabulous wealth of Constantinople was close at hand, the barbarians made this city their next target. Taking all necessary precautions they advanced in force to the metropolis (§ 4). At that critical moment, however, the godhead intervened by means of a band of Saracen auxiliaries, who had recently arrived in Constantinople. These fierce warriors joined battle with the Goths and their allies. Although the actual battle remained undecided, the fanaticism of one Saracen warrior made a stunning impression on the Goths. He plunged into the enemy lines, slit a man's throat and sucked the blood out of the wound. That frightened the Goths to such a degree that from then on they lost much of their former audacity (§ 5–6). Moreover, the sight of the huge walls, the enormous dimensions and the density of the population of Constantinople made the barbarians lose heart. They gave up their plans for regular warfare, and decided to restrict themselves to looting in scattered bands throughout the northerly provinces (§ 7). In the eastern provinces the general Iulius managed to eliminate all the Gothic troops who were stationed there. He ordered their commanders—all of them Romans—to convene the Gothic soldiers on the same day, allegedly in order to pay them their *stipendium*. When the troops showed up they were killed to a man. Ammianus leaves his readers in no doubt that he considered this a praiseworthy, indeed exemplary action (§ 8).

The events related in this chapter have in common that they offer the reader some consolation for the disaster at Adrianople as well as some hope for the future. The barbarians had indeed been able to inflict a disastrous

defeat on the Romans, but the realisation that they were unable to capture cities, and were vulnerable when faced with equally or even more fanatical enemies, and with well planned and ruthless actions by Roman army commanders showed that they were not invincible.

Ammianus ends this chapter and with that his entire work, with a short epilogue (§ 9) in which every word counts. He presents himself with pride as a former officer, fully qualified to pass judgment on military matters, whilst at the same time being a cultured man, able to inform his readers on a wide range of topics. He has kept to the laws of historiography in telling the truth without suppressing awkward facts. Finally, he invites historians younger than himself, and erudite like himself, to continue his work in the grand manner.

- 16.1 *Conversi post haec per omne tempus noctis ut aestivae non longum ad vulnerum curas artesque medendi gentiles reddita luce in varias consiliorum vias diducebantur, quorsum tenderent, ambigentes* As it was by now mid-August, the nights were short. About the medical care of the Goths (cf. for *gentilis* above, ad 31.7.7, p. 129) hardly anything is known. Wolfram, 1988, 114 with n. 501 points to the Gothic word for physician, 'lekeis' (cf. Lehmann, 1986, 232 and Köbler, 1989, 359). As was noted ad 20.11.24 *imperator in varia sese consilia diducens et versans* (p. 278), this is a Vergilianism (*A.* 5.720 *in curas animo diducitur omnis*). For the metaphor *consilii via*, "la via tracciata nel suo progetto" (tr. Viansino), see ad 26.2.11 (p. 57) and for *ambigere* ad 20.1.2 (p. 6).

*multisque dictatis et controversis occupare statuunt Perinthum exindeque—divitiarum referta docentibus omnia perfugis etiam domorum nedum urbium interna noscentes* Elsewhere Amm. uses *dictare* in the meaning 'to dictate', as in 15.1.3 *ipse dictando scribendoque propria manu*, 15.5.12 *longe alia, quam dictarat Silvanus...ascripta*. Amm. is fond of intensiva/frequentativa; Blomgren 172–173. Perinthus, modern Marmara Ereğlisi, was in Antiquity also called Heraclea; Talbert 52 B3. See for this town, conveniently situated at the junction of the *via Egnatia* and the *via militaris*, ad 22.2.3 (pp. 13–14) and 27.4.12 (p. 98).

Since Amm. writes *exindeque* 'and from there' no fewer than thirteen times, e.g. in § 2 of this chapter (*pars Philippopolim exindeque Serdicam, alia Macedoniam*) it seems prudent to emend V's *exinde quae-* in this sense. In view of the actions of the Goths against Constantinople as described in § 4, with the reference to the wealth of that city, it is tempting to think that the name of Constantinople has dropped out in the lacuna indicated by Clark

after *exindeque*. However, it would be difficult to explain how such a long and familiar word came to be omitted. Heraeus' *vicinas urbes divitiarum refertas* may just possibly have led by a 'saut du même au même' to V's *vitiarum refertas*. Normally *refertus* goes with an ablative (Kühner-Stegmann 1.442). This is also the case in the *Res Gestae*, the only exception being 16.12.27 *prope fossas armatorum refertas*. In the present passage Amm. may have preferred the genitive c.c. As was stated in 31.6.5 (p. 114), *dediticii* and *captivi* kept the barbarians well informed about treasures and food stocks; cf. for *perfugae* ad 31.7.7 (p. 129).

*hanc secuti sententiam, quam utilem existimarunt, itineribus lentis miscentes cuncta populationibus et incendiis nullo renitente pergebant* Since it is very surprising that the Goths after the failure to take Adrianople (31.6.4 and 31.15) decided to lay siege to Perinthus (cf. also 31.8.1 *haec et similia machinari penitus ignorantes*), the relative clause may be read as Amm.'s sceptical comment on their obstinacy. Note however that Amm. in § 3 reports that the Goths, *cladum memores pristinarum*, refrained from an attempt to seize the city. As to *itineribus lentis*, just like Fritigern on his way to Marcianopolis in 31.5.4 (*incedens segnius Marcianopolim tarde pervenit itineribus lentis*), the Goths marched slowly in the direction of Perinthus. Was this because the warriors were accompanied by the wagon train with women and children? Or because they were busy pillaging and burning the countryside? We can only speculate.

Amm. uses *miscere* in the sense of 'to create chaos' also in 31.2.1 *quas Martius furor incendio insolito miscendo cuncta concivit* (p. 13); cf. Sal. Cat. 10.1 *saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit*.

*Obsessi vero apud Hadrianopolim post eorum abitum tempestivum, cum vacare hoste loca proxima compertae fidei nuntiassent exploratores* For *apud* 'in' see ad 30.7.2 (p. 151). Different solutions have been suggested for V's *habitu perduto*. Clarke, Rolfe and Seyfarth have accepted Schneider's *tempestivum*, based on 31.8.6 *post reseratas angustias abitumque militis tempestivum*. Apart from the fact that *tempestivum* is palaeographically unattractive, the context is very different. In 31.8.6 the adj. 'timely' is used by Amm. to justify Saturninus' decision to withdraw his men in the face of the superior numbers of the Goths. As the present passage reports the departure of the enemy, one would rather expect an adj. meaning 'welcome', 'surprising'. Sabbah proposed *proditum*, which is palaeographically attractive and yields an acceptable meaning 'after they had been told that the Goths had gone away'. The following *cum*-clause adds the information that the surround-

ing area was also free of enemies. For *compertus* = *spectatus* see ad 24.4.30 (p. 144), for *explorator/exploratio* ad 31.9.2 (p. 155) and 31.12.2.

*egressi media nocte vitatis aggeribus publicis per nemorosa et devia pars Philippopolim exindeque Serdicam, alia Macedoniam cum intemeratis opibus, quas vehebant, omni studio properandum excogitato* See ad 31.11.4 (p. 190) for the different shades of meaning of *agger*. The *aggeres publici* are the main roads, in the first place the *via militaris*, which led from Constantinople through Adrianople westward to Philippopolis (Plovdiv), Serdica (Sofia), Naissus (Niš) and Singidunum (Belgrade). To travel from Adrianople to Macedonia one could first go through Plotinopolis (near Uzunköprü) southward until one reached the *via Egnatia* near Traianopolis, and then turn westward on this road. In Book 31 Philippopolis is also mentioned in 31.5.17 (p. 105); pace Chiabò, 1983 and Viansino in his *Lexicon* it was not an “oppidum Macedoniae”, but the capital of the province of Thracia. See for Serdica, the capital of Dacia Mediterranea, ad 21.10.3 (p. 134); add to the literature cited there Vackova, 2012. The term *Macedonia* refers either to the diocese or to the province of that name; cf. Ruf. Fest. 8 *et in dioecesi Macedonia provinciae sunt septem: Macedonia, Thessalia, Achaia, Epiri duae, Praevalis, Creta* and Jones 1456. As in 17.7.1 (p. 175), it is more likely that here the diocese is meant. For the acc. of direction with the name of a country or a region see ad 14.11.6 (p. 119) and 23.2.7 (p. 29).

The treasures carried away intact by the citizens of Adrianople were mentioned in 31.12.10 (*thesauri...et principalis fortunae insignia cetera...ambitu moenium tenebantur*) and 31.15.2 (the Goths knew) *fortunae principalis insignia thesaurosque Valentis illic...conditos esse*. Amm. uses *intemeratus* ‘pure’, ‘intact’, also in 22.11.10, 27.12.4 and 30.9.5; TLL VII 1.2104.78 compares *Cod. Theod.* 10.10.30 *intemeratis facultatibus*. The expression *omni studio...excogitato* (‘having devised every zeal’) is very strange. It looks like a contamination of *omni studio properandum arbitantes* (‘thinking that they had to move with all possible speed’) and for instance *omni commento ad properandum excogitato* (‘having devised every means to make haste’).

*currebant velut in regionibus illis repperiendo Valente. quem inter medios certaminum turbines oppetisse vel certe ad tugurium confugisse, ubi aestimatus est vi perisse flammaram, penitus ignorabant* This is an extreme example of the gerundive as a substitute for a future participle: *velut Valentem repperituri*, for which see ad 20.2.4 (p. 18) and 26.9.5 (p. 250); Pinkster I 551. For *turbo* cf. 31.10.1 *funesti per Thracias turbines* and see ad 21.13.14 (p. 209) and 25.5.8 (pp. 194–195). Amm. refers to the two versions of Valens’ death which

he had given in 31.13.12 and 14–15, substituting *tugurium* for *agrestem casam* in § 14. The second version is reported in far greater detail, which suggests that Amm. believes this to be the right one. The use of *vel certe* introducing the preferred alternative, for which see ad 31.15.11 (p. 271), confirms this. For *oppetere* ‘to fall (in battle)’ see ad 20.4.8 (p. 72).

*At Gothi Hunis Halanisque permixti nimium bellicosus et fortibus rerumque asperarum difficultatibus induratis, quos miris praemiorum illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia Fritigerni* Earlier alliances of the Goths with Huns and Alans are mentioned in 31.8.4 (p. 145–146) and 31.12.17 *equitatus Gothorum... Halanorum manu permixta*, which lends support to V’s reading *permixtis*, rightly printed by Sabbah instead of *permixti*, which is preferred by all other editors. Cf. further 31.11.6 about Alans who fell upon Gratian near Castra Martis and *epit.* 47.3 (Gratian was aware that the Roman Empire was in trouble) *Thraciam Daciamque tamquam genitales terras possidentibus Gothis Taifalisque atque omni pernicie atrocioribus Hunnis et Alanis*. Joined operations of Goths, Huns and Alans are also attested under Theodosius: *Consul. Constant.* a. 379 (quoted ad 31.1.5, p. 10), Pacatus, *Pan.* 2.11.3, Oros. *hist.* 7.34.5. 16.3

For *bellicosus*, in itself a positive term, see ad 31.3.1 (p. 41). ‘Battle-hardened’ is a qualification given earlier to Julian (25.4.5, p. 125) and the Roman army in Persia (25.7.1, p. 222). The relative clause probably refers to 31.8.4 *adacti necessitate postrema Hunorum et Halanorum aliquos ad societatem spe praedarum ingentium asciverunt* (p. 145), although there Fritigern is not mentioned by name (see for him ad 31.4.8, pp. 72–73). Note the double gen. inversus (*praemiorum illecebris* and *sollertia Fritigerni*) and the fourfold alliteration *illecebris sibi sociarat sollertia*.

*fixis iuxta Perinthum castris ipsam quidem urbem cladum memores pristinorum nec adire nec temptare sunt ausi, agros vero fertiles late distētos et lōnge ad extremam vastavere penuriam cultoribus caesis aut captis* As was observed ad 16.12.58 (p. 282), *castra figere* is an unusual expression. The only other instance in the *Res Gestae* is 29.4.5. It is also found in Veg. *mil.* 2.25.8 *ut, in quovis loco fixerit (legio) castra, armatam faciat civitatem* (“so that in whatever place it pitches camp, it makes an armed city”, tr. Milner); *Peregr. Aeth.* 7.33, 10.17, 12.52; Greg. *Tur. Franc.* 3.12. With *cladum...pristinorum* Amm. refers to the failed efforts of the Goths to capture Adrianople, described in 31.6.3–4 and 31.15. For *temptare* ‘to attack’ cf. 17.6.1 *ut (Iuthungi) etiam oppidorum temptarent obsidia praeter solitum*. The words *et longe* are separated from *late* for the sake of the cursus, as in 22.8.9 *sub aspectum late diffusum et longe*. The Goths were as merciless towards the rural population of Thrace



as Theodosius senior had been towards the Iesalenses: *ad penuriam vastavit extremam* (29.5.50). This is the last of many passages in Book 31 in which Amm. refers to the devastation, looting and fire-raising perpetrated by the Goths in the rural areas of Thrace; cf. 31.5.8–9, 6.2, 6.6–7, 7.7 (*vastatorias manus*), 8.3 (*direptionum*), 8.6–8, 9.3, 11.4 (*vastatorios cuneos*), 16.3. According to *Consul. Constant.* a. 378 *toto anno per diocesim Thraciarum et Scythiae et Moesiae Gothi habitaverunt simul et eas praedaverunt* (the text is not quite clear; Scythia and Moesia Inferior are provinces of the diocese of Thrace; Nickbakht ad loc., p. 128 suggests that *et Scythiae et Moesiae* is an interpolation). Cf. Zos. 4.24.4 Θράκης...ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστῶτων αὐτῇ βαρβάρων κατεχομένης ('Thrace was occupied by the barbarians who had settled there').

- 16.4 *unde Constantinopolim copiarum cumulis inhiantes amplissimis formas quadratorum agminum insidiarum metu servantes ire ocus festinabant multa in exitium urbis inclutae molituri* Cf. for the advance of the Goths to Constantinople *Consul. Constant.* a. 378 (the Goths) *deinde usque ad portas urbis Constantinopolitanae venerunt*; Socr. *HE* 5.1.1 Τοῦ δὴ βασιλέως Οὐάλεντος ἄδην-λον ἐσχηκότος τὴν τελευταίαν οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν ἕως τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐλθόντες τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπόρθουν προάστεια; Soz. *HE* 7.1.1 and Joh. Antioch. *fr.* 277 Roberto. For *inhiantes* 'to covet' cf. 26.7.9 *promissis uberrimis inhiantes* and 31.5.14 *nec ambitiosis mensis nec flagitiosis quaestibus inhiabat*. As regards *copiarum cumulis*, there is a note on the gen. *inhaerentiae* (or *identitatis*) ad 22.12.7 (p. 222). The *agmen quadratum* is discussed ad 24.1.2 (pp. 5–6). Elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*, e.g. in 31.12.4, the marching formation of the Roman army is meant. Nefedkin, 2002, 9–10 compares the present text with information about the Goths on campaign in other sources (Zosimus, Malchus, Procopius, Marcellinus Comes, Mauricius). For *ocus* see ad 31.5.2 (p. 84). *Multa...molituri* may have been inspired by Sal. *Cat.* 27.2 (Catilina) *interea Romae multa simul moliri*; cf. 14.7.10 *multa in eius moliebatur exitium*.

The adj. *inclutus* (sometimes spelled *inclitus* or *inclytus*; TLL VII 1.957.64 sqq. and De Jonge ad 18.6.17, p. 199) with reference to Constantinople is also found in e.g. *Cod. Theod.* 16.5.58, *Cod. Iust.* 1.2.22.1, 1.51.11 and 6.24.12; more examples in Cañizar Palacios, 2014, 307. One is reminded of Verg. *A.* 6.781 *illa incluta Roma* ('a stately word', Austin ad *A.* 6.479). Cf. Prud. *c. Symm.* 1.553 *sic se Roma inclyta iactat*. In Kelly, 2003 about Ammianus' silences on Constantinople the author does not mention the present text. Nor do we find it in Grig and Kelly, 2012 or in Cañizar Palacios, 2014. The latter states on p. 289: '(In the *Res Gestae*) the association of Constantinople with a laudatory ter-

minology is practically null: it is only called once *vetus Byzantium* (Amm. 22.8.8), referring to her next as *civitas Constantinopolitana* (Amm. 26.7.4)."

*quos inferentes sese immodice obicesque portarum paene pulsantes hoc casu caeleste reppulit numen* Ad 24.4.11 (p. 115) *inferens se protervius miles* it was noted that *se inferre* is a favourite phrase for a violent attack in Vergil. Barbarians hurling themselves literally and metaphorically against barriers is a returning image in this book: 31.4.9 *Per id tempus nostri limitis rese-ratis obicibus atque ut Aetnaeas favillas armatorum agmina diffundente bar-baria*, 31.8.5 *ut amnis immani impulsu undarum obicibus ruptis emissus*, 31.9.1 *quaeritabant Frigeridum tamquam obicem validum, ubi reperirent, excisuri*. As he had done in the preceding section, Amm. employs alliteration to emphasize the dramatic character of the events.

For *numen* see ad 25.8.3 (p. 256), 26.1.5 (p. 20) and 27.3.15 (p. 76). Add to the literature quoted there Ensslin, 1923, 48–51. *Hoc casu* is an abl. instrumenti: the godhead used the fanaticism of the Saracen, described in the next section, as a means to protect the citizens of Constantinople.

*Saracenorum cuneus, super quorum origine moribusque diversis in locis retulimus plura* There is an excursus on the Saracens in 14.4, in which Amm. refers to digressions *in actibus principis Marci et postea aliquotiens* ('in the history of the emperor Marcus Aurelius and on several later occasions', § 2); see for the Saracens Matthews 342–355, Lenski, 2002, 200–210, and the notes ad 22.15.2 (p. 258) and 23.3.8 (pp. 51–52). In both places Amm. adds that *Saraceni* was a new name for Arabs who used to be called *Arabes Scenitae* ('Arabs under tents', i.e. Bedouin). This tallies with Hier. *in Ezech.* 8.25 *Ismaelitas et Agarenos, qui nunc Saraceni appellantur*, and *in Ier.* 5, CSEL 309, l. 14 *Ismahelitarum, quos nunc Saracenos vocant*. According to Bowersock, 1987, 71–73 the name originally served as a designation for a particular group of Arab nomads, and later came to define the whole class of Bedouin. Amusing, but no doubt fanciful, is the explanation of Soz. *HE* 6.38.10: Τουτὶ γὰρ τὸ φύλον ἀπὸ Ἰσμαὴλ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ παιδὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν καὶ τὴν προσσηγορίαν εἶχε, καὶ Ἰσμαηλίτας αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προπάτορος ὠνόμαζον. ἀποτριβόμενοι δὲ τοῦ νόθου τὸν ἔλεγχον καὶ τῆς Ἰσμαὴλ μητρὸς τὴν δυσγένειαν (δοῦλη γὰρ ἦν) Σαρακηνούς σφᾶς ὠνόμασαν ὡς ἀπὸ Σάρρας τῆς Ἀβραάμ γαμετῆς καταγομένους ("This is the tribe which took its origin and had its name from Ishmael, the son of Abraham; and the ancients called them Ishmaelites after their progenitor. As their mother was a slave, they afterwards, to conceal the opprobrium of their origin, assumed the name of Saracens, as if they were descended from Sara, the wife of Abraham", tr. Hartranft, slightly adapted).

16.5

For *cuneus* as an unspecific term for a troop of soldiers see ad 25.6.7 (p. 208). In the next section the Saracen unit is called *turma*, for which term see ad 31.4.7 (p. 71) and 31.5.8 (p. 92). The Saracens of the present text clearly served as auxiliaries of the Romans, as they had done before, and did later; cf. e.g. 23.5.1 *Ascitis Saracenorum auxiliis* (pp. 81–82) and *Not. Dign. Or.* 28.17, 32.27–28. From Eun. *fr.* 42 *in fine* and Zos. 4.22.1 we can deduce that Valens had already employed Saracen cavalerists soon after his arrival in the eastern capital on 30 May 378 (see ad 31.11.1, p. 182). Ecclesiastical historians speak of treaties between Rome and the Saracens (Socr. *HE* 4.36.1, Soz. *HE* 6.38.1 αἱ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους σπονδαί). On the other hand, we also hear of conflicts between Rome and the Saracen tribes neighbouring Roman territory. Amm. relates such an incident in 14.4.1, but he is silent about a revolt under Queen Mavia (*PLRE* I, Mavia); possible reasons for Amm.'s silence are discussed by Shahîd, 1984, 257–265 and Lewin, 2007, 249–250. It is most likely that the revolt took place in late 377–early 378 (the chronology is disputed), for which see in the first place Lenski, 2002, 204–209, 334–335 and 2007, 119–123. Lenski, 2002, 204–205 n. 284 cites the most important sources and secondary works, inter alia Bowersock, 1980 and Shahîd, 1984, 239–283; cf. further Woods, 1998; Roberto, 2003, 71–85; Schmitt, 2004; Woods, 2004, 732–733; Errington, 2006, 69–71; Lewin, 2007, 246–250; Lewin, 2014, 210. The revolt of Mavia ended with a peace treaty (ὁ Σαρακηνῶν ἐσβέσθη πόλεμος, εἶχε τε τοῦ λοιποῦ ἡ Μαυία πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰρήνην), which was cemented by the marriage of the daughter of Mavia with general Victor (for whom see ad 31.7.1, pp. 120–121), Socr. *HE* 4.36.12. According to Pacatus the treaty was violated under Theodosius: *Dicam a rebellibus Sarracenis poenas polluti foederis expeditas?* (“Shall I speak of the punishment exacted from the rebellious Saracens for the dishonouring of a treaty?”, *Pan.* 2.22.3, tr. Nixon).

*ad furta magis expeditionalium rerum quam ad concursatorias habiles pugnas* V's *fortem* was admirably corrected by Henri de Valois to *furta*, which is confirmed by 23.3.8 about the Saracens: *ad furta bellorum appositi*. The combination of the reference to earlier digressions on the Saracens and the precise verbal correspondence with 23.3.8 provides a strong argument against the thesis of Kulikowski, 2012 that Book 31 was originally written as a monograph in Greek, and only later translated into Latin and added to the *Res Gestae*. Moreover, Kulikowski is wrong in stating on pp. 85–86 that “the characterization of the Saracens as crafty raiders draws the ethnographic contrast with the more warlike Goths”. The next section will show that the Saracens are, if anything, more warlike than the Goths. The real contrast is between the Roman steadfastness in man-to-man fights, and maraud-

ing raids by other nations, such as the Persians (16.9.1), Isaurians (19.13.1) and Saracens (23.3.8). As TLL VI 1.1649.42–67 shows, *furta belli/bellorum* is almost a t.t. for guerilla warfare: Sal. *Hist.* 1.112 *metu gentis* (Hispanorum) *ad furta belli peridoneae*; Claud. Don. Aen. 11.515 *furta paro belli: furtum belli est cum non aperto certamine, sed dolis et fraude ad victoriam tenditur*; Vell. 2.31.2 *cum belli more, non latrociniorum, orbem classibus iam, non furtivis expeditionibus, piratae terrent*; Tac. *Ann.* 13.37.1 *non furtim iam, sed palam bello infensare Armeniam*.

For the rare adj. *expeditionalis* see TLL V 2.1628.76–1629.6. It is attested for the first time in the *Codex Theodosianus*. Apart from the present passage Amm. uses it in 23.2.2 (—*tessera*) and 28.6.23 (*ad-es usus*). The latter phrase is also found in HA *PN* 10.1 *omne argentum summoveri de usu expeditionali*, which is, according to Paschoud, 2014, 348, an indication that the author of the *Historia Augusta* knew the *Res Gestae*.

Stealthy attacks on an army on the move (*expeditionaliū rerum*) are part of the tactics considered best by Amm. in 31.7.2 *ubi particulatim perque furta magis et latrocinia multitudo minui deberet hostilis*, and envisaged by the Roman generals in 31.7.6 *id scilicet praestruentes, ut, si aliorum castra movissent...plures perfoderent contis magnamque spoliū averterent partem*. The adj. *concursatorius* is found only in Amm. (TLL IV 114.9–11). The contrast between *furta* and *concursatoria pugna*, which is also found in 16.9.1 (*per furta et latrocinia potiusquam...per concursatorias pugnas*) suggests that Amm. uses the latter term for man-to-man fights.

*recens illuc accersitus congressurus barbarorum globo repente conspecto a civitate fidenter erupit diuque extento certamine pertinaci aequis partes discessere momentis* It must have been as a result of the treaty with Mavia, just mentioned, that the Romans disposed of the Saracen auxiliaries of whom Eunapius and Zosimus speak (see the previous note) and of the *cuneus* of the present section. Cf. Socr. *HE* 5.1.4 ἐπεβόηθουν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀλίγοι Σαρακηνοὶ ὑπόσπονδοι, τότε παρὰ Μαυίας πεμφθέντες and Soz. *HE* 7.1.1. These Saracens should be regarded as *foederati* (thus e.g. Elton, 1996, 91–94; Lewin, 2008, 80), and not, pace Woods, 1996, as members of the elite *scholae palatinae*. The words *recens illuc accersitus* are puzzling. They seem to suggest that the *cuneus* had come later to Constantinople than the auxiliaries mentioned by Eunapius and Zosimus; Shahîd, 1984, 254.

When the verb *congređi* has a complement, it is either a dative, as here (*globo*), or a prepositional phrase with *cum*; for *globus* see ad 31.5.9 (p. 93). The adverb *fidenter* has a positive ring; see ad 20.8.19 (p. 215). For the different shades of meaning of *momentum* see ad 31.15.12 (pp. 271–272).

- 16.6 *sed orientalis turma novo neque ante viso superavit eventū. ex ea enim crinitus quidam, nudus omnia praeter pubem, subraucum et lugubre strepens educto pugione agmini se medio Gothorum inseruit* Victory was brought about by a spectacular act of audacity of a Saracen fighter (*quidam* is of course singular, pace Jones 154 and Chauvot, 2004, 56: “une bande d’auxiliaires sarrassins suceurs de sang”). His portrait as sketched by Amm. prompts to think of ‘mad warriors’ like southeast Asian *amoks* or Scandinavian and Icelandic *berserks* (for which see Speidel, 2002). However, the deed related in the next lemma, viz. that the Saracen “after killing a man applied his lips to his throat and sucked the blood that poured out” (tr. Rolfe), is rightly called by Amm. unique in Antiquity (*novo neque ante viso...eventū*) and is nowhere attested later either (except in stories about vampires). Some scholars therefore cannot believe that the incident is historical, cf. e.g. Woods, 2002, 129 ff. and Lewin, 2014, 212 (“l’episodio narrato da Ammiano non è altro che un’invenzione”).

Henri de Valois pointed for *crinitus* (‘long-haired’) to Hier. *Malchi* 4, where ‘Ismaelites’ are described as *crinitis vittatisque capitibus*. Originally all Greeks (κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, Hom. *Il.* 2.472, *Od.* 1.90), Romans (Var. *R.* 2.11.10) and the Gauls of Gallia Comata (D.C. 46.55.5) wore long hair, and it was only in the course of time that this changed (cf. Hurschmann, 1998). Jerome and Amm. apparently saw the Saracen’s hair style as a sign of lack of civilisation; cf. Matthews 347–348.

As to *nudus* (‘naked’, but also ‘unarmed’, ‘without protecting armour’), Hieronymus *Malchi* 4 calls the ‘Ismaelites’ not only long-haired, but also *seminudo corpore*, with which cf. Amm. 14.4.3: (Saracens) *bellatores seminudi coloratis sagulis pube tenus amicti*. Barbarians often fought (*semi*-)*nudi* according to classical authors, see e.g. Caes. *Gal.* 1.25.4, Liv. 22.46.6, 38.21.9, Tac. *Ger.* 6.1, *Hist.* 2.22.1, Gel. 9.13.7; cf. further Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Langobardorum* 1.20 about the German tribe of the Heruli: *nudi pugnant, operientes solummodo corporis verecunda* (‘their private parts’). The Saracen went into battle shouting (*strepens*), as did the soldiers in 24.4.15: *strepebant utrimque partes*. This was apparently to rouse their battle rage, a habit shared with barbarian and Roman armies; see for instance 31.7.11 (the Romans) *concinentes...barritum vires validas erigebant* (‘raised their morale by striking up their battle-cry’, tr. Hamilton). The only parallel for *subraucus* ‘somewhat hoarse’ is Cic. *Brut.* 141 *vox permanens, verum subrauca natura* (‘voice sustained, but with a touch of huskiness’, tr. Hendrickson-Hubbell). For Amm.’s frequent use of the prefix *sub*- in adjectives see ad 21.16.3 (p. 247), 21.16.19 (p. 274) and Díaz y Díaz, 1964.

*et interfecti hostis iugulo labra admovit effusumque cruorem exsuxit. quo mon-  
struoso miraculo barbari territi postea non ferocientes ex more, cum agendum  
appeterent aliquid, sed ambiguīs gressibus incedebant* There are no parallels  
in classical literature for this monstrous action. Passages of Plautus, which  
are sometimes adduced, are of course of a totally different nature. In Pl.  
*Epid.* 188–189 Epidicus utters the threat *eorum exsugebo sanguinem / senati  
qui columen cluent* ('I'll suck out the blood of these men, who are called  
a pillar of the senate'), with which cf. *Poen.* 614 *Iam nunc ego...sanguinem  
exsugam*. Hdt. 4.64.1 about the Scythians is more to the point: ἐπέαν τὸν  
πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλλῃ ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, as is Mela 2.12, also  
about the Scythians, quoted by Lindenbrog: *mosque est bellantibus, cruorem  
eius quem primum interemerunt ipsis ex vulneribus ebibere*. In 27.4.4 Amm.  
speaks of Scordisci who drank the blood of their prisoners (*captivorum*):  
*humanum...sanguinem in ossibus capitum cavis bibentes avidius* (cf. Ruf. Fest.  
9 and Flor. *Epit.* 3.4.2–3, cited in the note ad loc., p. 83). These passages have  
in common that they deal with the drinking of human blood in wartime. But  
they are clearly not identical with the present text. Only Amm. states that in  
the heat of battle one fighter cut the throat of another, applied his lips to the  
wound and sucked out the blood. It is not true, pace Woods, 2002, that Amm.  
"is effectively accusing Saracens of cannibalism" (p. 134; cf. Isaac, 2011, 245: "It  
may not quite be cannibalism, but is somehow related"). There is nothing in  
Amm.'s text which suggests that the Saracen ate the flesh of his Gothic oppo-  
nent; cf. Whately, 2014, 222–224. His behaviour in a way resembles that of the  
'mad warriors' (*amoks* and *berserks*) Speidel, 2002 has studied (remarkably,  
although he often quotes Amm., Speidel does not mention the present text).

Some see in the long hair of the Saracen a connection with Jewish Naza-  
rites like Samson ("Dieser *crinitus* was ein kriegerischer Nazîr", Wellhausen,  
1961<sup>3</sup>, 125–126 n. 6; he is followed by Wolfram, 1988, 129). Nazarites dedicated  
themselves to God and let the hair of their head grow freely (*VTNum.* 6:4–5).  
This is not as far-fetched as it may perhaps seem. According to Soz. *HE* 6.38.11  
the Saracens and the Jews of old had a lot in common: ἅπαντες μὲν ὁμοίως  
'Εβραίοις περιτέμνονται καὶ ὑείων κρεῶν ἀπέχονται καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν παρ'  
αὐτοῖς ἐθῶν φυλάττουσι ("They practice circumcision like the Jews, refrain  
from the use of pork, and observe many other Jewish rites and customs", tr.  
Hartranft); and also in Sozomen's own days (εἰσέτι νῦν) many of the Saracens  
lived according to Jewish laws: παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰσέτι νῦν πολλοὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῶσιν  
(*HE* 6.38.13). However, neither *amoks* nor *berserks* nor Nazarites ever did  
what Amm.'s Saracen is said to have done.

The verb *exsugere* is used in a metaphorical sense in 30.4.13 of the victim  
of greedy advocates, who is *ad usque ipsas medullas exsuctus* ("sucked dry

to his very marrow”, tr. Rolfe). The Goths were terrified by the Saracen’s savagery. Amm. aptly uses the verb *ferocire* for their normal behaviour, for it is exactly in respect of their *ferocia* that they are surpassed by the Saracen. For *appetere* see ad 21.5.12 (p. 68).

- 16.7 *processu dein audacia fracta, cum murorum ambitum insularumque spatiis immensis oblongum et inaccessas pulchritudines urbis et incolentium plebem considerarent immensam iuxtaque fretum, quod Pontum disternat et Aegaeum* The abl. of manner *processu* ‘gradually’, ‘as time went on’ is normally followed by *temporis*, as for instance in 14.1.2 *eruditiores facti processu temporis* (“in process of time gradually became more expert”, tr. Rolfe). It is used absolutely in Sen. *Ep.* 118.17 *Quaedam processu priorem exuunt formam et in novam transeunt*; *Nat.* 3.27.7 (a river) *auctus deinde processu aliis quoque in se torrentibus raptis*. The emendation *audacia infracta* by Petschenig, 1893, 421 for V’s *audaciam fracto* is almost certainly correct. The confidence of the Goths had been damaged by the action of the Saracen, and was further weakened (*infracta*) by the sight of the huge walls of Constantinople and the number of its citizens. The adj. *oblongus* in combination with *ambitus* probably means ‘vast’, rather than ‘of greater length than breadth’, as is usually the case. Henri de Valois added *-que* after *insularum*, which does not seem necessary. Without *-que* the meaning is ‘the perimeter of the walls, which was vast due to the huge areas of the housing complexes’. On the walls of Constantinople, which go back to Constantine (e.g. Socr. *HE* 1.16.1, Soz. *HE* 2.3.3) see Janin, 1964<sup>2</sup>, 26–31 (with the cautionary remark of Berger, 2011, 12); Asutay-Effenberger, 2007; Asutay-Effenberger and Effenberger, 2009. The only other passage in the *Res Gestae* in which *insula* denotes a “block of flats” (OLD s.v. 2) is 29.6.18 concerning Rome. For the surface area of the city cf. *Not. urb. Const.* 16.56–60 (written in the time of Theodosius II): *Habet sane longitudo urbis a porta aurea usque ad litus maris directa linea pedum quattuordecim milia septuaginta quinque, latitudo autem pedum sex milia centum quinquaginta*. The estimated number of inhabitants of Constantinople at the end of the fourth century is 400,000, according to Demandt, 2007<sup>2</sup>, 446, referring to Jacoby, 1961; however, Jacoby’s calculations show a lower result, barely 200,000. Like Amm., Him. *Or.* 41.7 eulogizes the dimension and the splendour of Constantinople: ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ὄρμῳ τοὺς λίθους ὁ χρυσός, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις τῷ μεγέθει τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ἐγκέκραται (“For just as in a necklace gold enhances the gems, so too Constantinople combines the flower of beauty with its great size”, tr. Penella).

The adj. *inaccessus* has both its primary and its figurative meaning: ‘unapproachable’ and ‘unequalled’. For the latter sense cf. Apul. *Met.* 4.28 *inac-*

*cessae formonsitatis admiratione stupidi* (“dumbstruck with admiration for her peerless beauty”, tr. Walsh). Although it is undeniable, as Kelly, 2003 has shown, that Amm. in his *Res Gestae* betrays a negative attitude towards Constantinople, the present passage (and § 4 *urbis inclutae*) deserves to be noted. Amm. may have mentioned the Bosphorus (*fretum*) in this context in order to make clear, that Constantinople was partly protected by its walls and partly by the sea. Cf. 27.4.7 (pp. 87–88) (Thrace) *finitur in fretum; cui undosius ab Euxino ponto labenti pergentique fluctibus reciprocis Aegaeum discidium panditur terrarum angustum* (“it is bounded by the strait which flows with an abundance of water from the Euxine, and going on with alternating current to the Aegaeon, opens a narrow cleft between the lands”, tr. Rolfe). In Book 31 the *Pontus* (*Euxinus*) is also mentioned in 31.4.2 (p. 57).

*disiectis bellorum officinis, quas parabant, post accepta maiora funera quam illata exinde digressi sunt effusorie per arctoas provincias, quas peragravere licenter ad usque radices Alpium Iuliarum, quas Venetas appellabat antiquitas* This is the second occurrence of *officina* in the *Res Gestae*. Cf. 29.1.34 (p. 56) where it is used metaphorically, as in Cic. *S. Rosc.* 134 *officina nequitiae* and Ambr. *fug.* 7.39 *officinam improbitatis*. Most translators take *bellorum officinae* literally in the sense of workshops for the production of weaponry (Rolfe “the manufactories of warlike materials”, Hamilton “the works that they were constructing”, Seyfarth “die Kriegsanlagen, die sie vorbereitet hatten [sic]”), but for that Amm. uses the noun *fabrica* and its derivatives; cf. 15.5.9 *fabricae Cremonensis*, 19.5.1 *turresque fabricabantur*, 29.3.4 *praepositum fabricae*, 31.6.2 *cum fabricensibus, quorum illic ampla est multitudo*. For that reason “les ateliers des guerres qu’ils préparaient” (Sabbah) seems preferable. Strictly speaking *quae parabant* would have been more logical than *quas parabant*, since the Goths were preparing wars rather than manufactories of wars, but it would be pedantic to propose an emendation. For *licenter* see ad 31.5.17 (p. 105) and 31.11.5 (p. 191).

Amm. evidently wants to end on a positive note. Cf. 20.7.18 on Sapor’s failed attempt to capture Virta: *multis acceptis vulneribus quam illatis omissa vano incepto tandem abscessit*. As *exinde digressi sunt* shows, Amm. is thinking of the Gothic losses before Constantinople, not of the whole period after the battle of Adrianople. *Effusorie* is a hapax; TLL V 2.229.43–44. From now on the Goths no longer operate as an army under unified command as they had done at Adrianople, but as scattered groups. The *arctoe provinciae*, called *septemtrionales provincia(e)* in 31.10.21, are part of the dioceses Illyricum, Dacia and Macedonia (on the poeticism *arctous* see ad 19.11.3, p. 208). Cf. *Pan.* 2.11.4, *Lib. Or.* 24.3, *Zos.* 4.24.4, *Ambr. fid.* 2.16.40, *off.* 2.70,



Them. Or. 14.181 a–b, 16.206, partly quoted ad 31.1.5 (p. 9). On the Julian Alps see ad 21.9.4 (p. 120); cf. Hier. *epist.* 60.16 *viginti et eo amplius anni sunt, quod inter Constantinopolim et Alpes Iulias cotidie Romanus sanguis effunditur* and Colombo, 2007, 259–260 for the strategic importance of the Julian Alps.

- 16.8 *His diebus efficacia Iulii magistri militiae trans Taurum enituit salutaris et velox* The opening words *his diebus* are extremely vague (as are, with respect to chronology, the opening words of 31.11: *His forte diebus Valens... venit Constantinopolim*). They apparently refer to a time fairly soon after the battle of Adrianople (cf. *velox* and *sine...mora* at the end of this section), that is, the late summer or the autumn of 378, and are therefore incompatible with Zosimus' version of the affair in 4.26. Zosimus, who in general follows Eunapius, sets Iulius' action under the reign of Theodosius, when this emperor was in Thessalonica (4.26.5, cf. 4.25.1). Theodosius ascended the throne in Sirmium on 19 January 379 (*Consul. Constant.* a. 379), and his presence in Thessalonica is first attested on 17 June 379 (*Cod. Theod.* 10.1.12). Paschoud n. 154 (pp. 388–391) and Elbern, 1987, 104–105 accept Amm.'s date, but e.g. Demandt, 1970, 710–711, Sabbah 211 and Sivan, 1993 prefer that of Zosimus. Paschoud, in his commentary, not only rejects Zosimus' date, but calls Zosimus' version "complètement falsifiée" (pp. 389–390). However, Paschoud later changed his mind: "C. Zuckerman a récemment allégué de bons arguments pour dater l'épisode du début de 379...et a montré que la version de Zosime était plus digne de foi que je ne l'avais pensé" (*AnTard* 7 [1999] 359–360). The arguments of Zuckerman, 1991, 479–486 also convinced other scholars, e.g. Barnes 184–186, Speidel, 1998 (but with some qualifications, and not with regard to the date) and Kulikowski, 2007, 145–147; 2012, 96–97. On the other hand, Colombo, 2007, 261–265 is critical. We will return to the various standpoints on the date and on the content of Zos. 4.26 below, when we compare Amm.'s text with that of Zos. and discuss the other evidence which is adduced.

The Iulius of the present text (*PLRE* I, Iulius 2) is generally and rightly, it would seem, assumed to be identical with the *comes per Thracias* of that name who appears in Amm.'s narrative of the revolt of Procopius (26.7.5, p. 189). In an inscription of 371 from Umm-el-Djemâl in the province Arabia Iulius is called *magister equitum et peditum* (*ILS* 773), and this is the function, to which Amm., who is not always precise in his military designations, apparently refers in shorthand. In Zos. 4.26.2 and 4.26.5 he is simply called Ἰούλιος, but in 4.27.1 Zosimus refers to his position as that of στρατηγός. The combination *magister militiae* which Amm. uses here is not found

elsewhere in the *Res Gestae* (cf. TLL VIII 82.44–47). Apparently *magister utriusque militiae* is meant, as e.g. in *ILS* 774 and 775, or *equestris pedestrisque militiae magister*, as in 21.13.3. Iulius' full title was probably *magister equitum et peditum per Orientem*, and it is very likely that the anonymous *magister equitum et peditum per Orientem* to whom Soz. *HE* 6.38.2 refers (τὸν στρατηγὸν πάσης τῆς ἀνὰ τὴν ἔω ἱππικῆς τε καὶ πεζῆς στρατιάς) and who almost suffered a defeat at the hands of the Saracen Queen Mavia (see for her above, ad § 5), is to be identified with Amm.'s Iulius. Thus e.g. Lenski, 2002, 206 and Lewin, 2007, 247. Woods, 2004, 732–733, who rejects this identification, thinks that Victor, Mavia's son-in-law, is meant. See in general for the *magistri militum* under Valens Demandt, 1970, 702–710.

For the Taurus mountain range (Talbert 66) see De Jonge ad 14.8.1 (pp. 53–54) and Olshausen, 2002 (“Der Tauros bildete eine markante Scheide zwischen Kleinasien und Syria”, p. 60). The Teubneriana marks *trans Taurum* as a colon ending, but this does not result in a regular cursus. It seems better therefore not to connect the words to *magistri militiae* (as e.g. Demandt, 1970, 704 does), but (with e.g. Sabbah and Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 584) to the main verb *enituit*. This means that Iulius' action affected the region to the east and south of the Taurus, the *orientales provinciae*, as is expressly stated at the end of this section, rather than Asia Minor as is commonly assumed (e.g. by Paschoud n. 154; Elbern, 1987; Wolfram, 1988, 129; Zuckerman, 1991, 479 ff.). For the claim that Iulius operated in Asia Minor “there is”, so Speidel, 1998, 505, “no basis at all...in our sources”. In this case Zosimus does not contradict Amm., for he speaks not of Asia Minor, but of the East (εἰς τὴν ἑσῶν, 4.26.2 and τὰς ἐν τῇ ἑσῶ πόλεις, 4.26.9). The suggestion of Kulikowski, 2012, 96 that one should reckon with “the Antiochene perspective” of Amm. (“Asia Minor was indeed *trans Taurum* for someone resident in Antioch”) conflicts with the normal point of reference in Latin geographical designations, viz. Rome (cf. for *trans Taurum* ‘east and south of Mount Taurus’ Cic. *Fam.* 3.8.4, 15.1.2, Ruf. *Fest.* 14); cf. Matthews 227. Amm. opens his digression on the *orientales provinciae* with the words *Superatis Tauri montis verticibus*, 14.8.1.

The fact that Zosimus does not speak of Asia Minor, and that Amm. explicitly situates Iulius' action elsewhere, is ignored by Zuckerman, 1991. Instead, he points (pp. 479–481) to Greg. Nyss. *Thdr.* p. 70 Cavernos. In this passage, which is part of a homily, delivered in the year after the troubles it describes, Gregory speaks about ‘Scythians’ who threatened to attack Euchaita (Talbert 87 A4) in the province Helenopontus. Zuckerman also points to Greg. Nyss. *bapt. diff.* (PG 46.424), about a young man who had been killed recently during a raid of roaming ‘Scythians’ near Comana,

which is either Comana in Cappadocia (Talbert 64 C4) or Comana Pontica (Talbert 87 B4) in the province Pontus Polemoniacus. He then states (p. 480), that Daniélou in 1955 was the first scholar “to set in its historical context the emergence of rioting barbarians in the sermons” by linking Gregory’s passages “to Ammianus’ and Zosimus’ description of the Gothic uprising (sic) in Asia Minor (sic) not long after the battle of Adrianople”. He concludes: “Since this was the only attack by Goths or any other potential “Scythians” which Asia Minor suffered in Gregory’s time, Daniélou’s observation must be essentially correct”. He disagrees, however, with Daniélou about the date of Gregory’s *De sancto Theodoro*. According to Daniélou (pp. 355–356), this homily was delivered in February 381. Zuckerman (pp. 482–484) argues for February 380 and, accordingly, dates the raid on Euchaita in 379. The year 379 would fit in well with Zosimus’ date of Iulius’ action, and this is one of the main reasons that Zuckerman prefers the account of Zosimus and doubts the veracity of that of Amm. (he calls Amm.’s presentation “misleading”, p. 486). But, as we noted above, Zuckerman totally ignores the fact that Zosimus does not speak of Asia Minor at all and that Amm. explicitly situates the massacre of the Goths *trans Taurum*. This omission surely weakens Zuckerman’s argument. We will return to him and Gregory below.

*Efficacia* implies high praise (cf. *consilio prudenti* at the end of this section). In 16.4.4 Julian is called *efficacissimus Caesar*, and the same applies to the Elder Theodosius *dux efficacissimus* (27.8.6, p. 195). With *velox* cf. *sine...mora* at the end of this section. Zosimus praises Iulius’ ἀγγίνοια, ‘sagacity’, ‘shrewdness’, in 4.26.2. Amm. had earlier used the verb *enitere* for war heroes in 24.4.24 *enituerunt hi, qui fecere fortissime* and for Julian’s blameless chastity in 25.4.2 *inviolata castitate enituit*.

*comperta enim fatorum sorte per Thracias* See ad 26.3.1 (p. 60) for the combination of *sors* and *fatum*, where it is observed that it is part of a standard transition formula, in the present case referring to Iulius’ reaction in the East after the events in the Thracian diocese. Amm.’s words resemble those of Zos. 4.26.3, which state that those Goths, who had been distributed over the cities, ‘were informed about what had happened to their kinsmen in Thrace’ (τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θράκην συμβάντα τοῖς αὐτῶν ὁμοφύλοις ἡγγέλθη). Note, however, the difference. In the preceding chapter (4.25) Zosimus had spoken of troubles in Thrace caused by Goths and other barbarians in the time of Theodosius which were quelled by Theodosius’ general Modares (*PLRE* I, Modares). It is to these troubles that Zosimus in 4.26.3 must be referring, whereas the natural inference from Amm.’s text is that he is talking about

events *per Thracias*, which are described in the preceding sections of the chapter, in other words, which took place shortly after the death of Valens.

*Gothos antea susceptos dispersosque per varias civitates et castra datis tectioribus litteris ad eorum rectores, Romanos omnes, quod his temporibus raro contingit, universos tamquam vexillo erecto uno eodem die mandavit occidi exspectatione promissi stipendii securos ad suburbana productos* Who were these Goths and when had they been admitted into the empire? Regrettably, *antea* is even less precise than the phrase *longe ante* in 31.6.1 *Sueridus et Colias, Gothorum optimates, cum populis suis longe ante suscepti*. As to the status of the Goths mentioned in the latter passage, in the note ad loc. (pp. 107–109) we discuss whether the *populi* mentioned were auxiliary troops of the Roman army, who were admitted shortly before Alavivus and Fritigern with their followers crossed the Danube in 376 (31.4.8), or, less likely, whether they are to be identified with Procopius' Gothic troops who had surrendered their weapons in 365 and had been distributed over the cities along the Danube, where they were kept in free custody (Eun.*fr.* 37, Zos. 4.10.1). The present text confronts us with a similar dilemma, but we now have more information, be it that the information of Amm. and Zosimus is incongruous on certain points.

Whereas Amm. is vague with respect to the question 'when' (*antea*), Zosimus (4.26.1–2) is quite clear: it was in 376, and the Goths who had been admitted were young children. In 4.26.1 Zosimus writes that Goths from the other side of the Danube asked Valens to allow them into Thrace, and in 4.26.2 he states that Valens admitted them, οἰηθεὶς δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν πίστεως ἐχέγγυον ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν εἰ τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας εἰς ἡβὴν οὕτω προελθόντας ἐν ἐτέρᾳ που διαιτᾶσθαι παρασκευάσειεν χώρα, πλήθος πολὺ τι παιδαρίων εἰς τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκπέμψας Ἰούλιον ἐπέστησε τῇ τούτων ἀνατροφῇ τε καὶ φυλακῇ ("thinking that he would have sufficient guarantee of their loyalty if those of their children who had not yet attained maturity were to live in another country. So he sent a great number of the young children to the east and appointed Julius...as their educator and guardian", tr. Ridley). Zosimus' source for this must be Eunapius, who in *fr.* 42, p. 60 Blockley writes about the situation in 376: ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀχρεῖον ἡλικίαν πρῶτον ὑποδεξαμένοις καὶ παραπέμψασιν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπικράτειαν, καὶ ταύτην ἐς ὅμηρείαν ἀσφαλῶς κατέχουσιν ("From Antioch the Emperor ordered them first to receive those persons who were too young for war and to distribute them throughout the Roman dominion, holding them securely as hostages", tr. Blockley). "Those too young for war", Eunapius continues (p. 62), "who had been the first to cross, were scattered thinly across the provinces through the

utmost care and wisdom of those who had planned this" (ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄχρηστος ἡλικία προλαβοῦσα κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν μετὰ βαθείας σπουδῆς καὶ φροντίδος τῶν ταῦτα βεβουλευμένων ἐς τὰ ἔθνη κατεχεῖτο καὶ διεσπείρετο). There is, however, a difference. In *fr.* 42 Eunapius nowhere speaks of the East, but refers to "the whole of Thrace and the neighbouring parts of Macedonia and Thessaly" (ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θράκη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ συνεχὴς αὐτῇ χώρα Μακεδονία καὶ Θεσσαλία, p. 62); cf. *Eun. fr.* 37 and *Zos.* 4.10.1 about the distribution of Goths over the cities on the Roman side of the Danube in 365.

According to Zosimus, Iulius distributed the children all over the cities (ὃ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐγκατένειμεν, 4.26.3). This resembles Amm.'s *dispersos...per varias civitates*, but the addition of *et castra* suggests that Amm.'s *Goth(i) antea suscept(i)* were not children, but auxiliary soldiers (like those serving under Sueridus and Colias, 31.6.1; Elbern, 1987, 103); moreover the use of *castra* suggests, that some of them served as *limitanei* on the eastern frontier (Zuckerman, 1991, 484; Colombo, 2007, 264). Amm.'s reference to *eorum rectores* reinforces the impression that he refers to soldiers. Admittedly, *rector* is a very general word (cf. ad 31.7.1, p. 121) and Amm. "does not state expressly that the Goths were soldiers" (Zuckerman, 1991, 485); theoretically therefore *rector* "could just as well be applied to whoever was appointed to supervise the young Goths" (ibid.). But Amm.'s apposition *Romanos omnes, quod his temporibus raro contingit*, ignored by Zuckerman (as Colombo, 2007, 264 rightly observes), makes clear that Amm. refers with *rectores* to military commanders. A strangely garbled report of this event is given by Curran, 1998, 101: "Some desperate measures were taken. Julius, magister equitum et peditum per Orientem, assembled a larger number of Goths in Roman service outside Constantinople (?). When the barbarians had been disarmed (?), they were butchered to a man". Incidentally, the interpretation of *quod his temporibus raro contingit* is debatable. Do the words mean that 'in these days', that is, in the days of Iulius, military commanders were seldom Romans, and so betray Amm.'s displeasure at the growing numbers of officers of barbarian origin? Or are they to be understood as a reference to the time of writing ("an unusual thing at the present time", tr. Hamilton; "ce qui arrive rarement de nos jours", tr. Sabbah) and does Amm. criticize "les clauses du traité de 382 qui donnait aux Goths la possibilité de servir sous leurs propres chefs" (Angliviel de la Beaumelle n. 585); cf. Jones 621: "(Amm.) probably refers to the federate bands which formed so large a part of the armies of Theodosius I"). The second alternative seems more plausible.

For the comparative *tectior* 'secret', 'coded' cf. 29.5.19 *tectiore consilio* and *tectius* (28.1.22, p. 51). For an example of such a letter cf. 18.6.18–19. The comparison *tamquam vexillo erecto* emphasizes the perfect coordination

with which the massacre was executed: in all cities and camps the Goths were killed on one and the same day, as if in response to the raising of a banner on the battle field. For the expression cf. 27.10.9 *stetit regibilis miles vexillum opperiens extollendum, quod erat opportune subeundae indicium pugnae* and see for *vexillum* ad 31.5.8 (p. 91). The barbarians had been lured to the camps outside the walls (for *suburbanum* see ad 28.6.4, p. 261) and were completely off their guard (*securos*), because they were expecting to receive their payment (for *stipendium* see ad 28.6.13, pp. 274–275).

Let us now turn to Zosimus' version of the massacre, which, as we have already noted, took place according to him (4.26.5, cf. 4.25.1) at the time when emperor Theodosius stayed in Thessalonica, that is, in 379. As we saw above, Zosimus had stated in 4.26.1–2 that the Goths, who had been admitted into the empire by Valens in 376 and who had been sent as hostages to the East, were young children. When these hostages heard what had happened in Thrace (4.26.3; see for this the preceding note), they conspired in the various cities where they were lodging (4.26.4) and “intended to revenge their parents and kinsmen by an attack on the cities” (τῇ κατὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐπιθέσει τιμωρῆσαι τοῖς σφῶν πατράσι καὶ ὁμοφύλοις διανοούμενοι, *ibid.*, tr. Ridley). Remarkably, the young Gothic children of 4.26.2 had in the meantime grown up (ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζουσι, 4.26.3)—rather quickly, one must say. But before they could put their plans into practice, Iulius took action. After consulting the senate of Constantinople he called together all military commanders (ἅπαντας ὅσοι ταγμάτων ἔτυχον στρατιωτικῶν προεστῶτες) and gave them instructions (4.26.6). In every city these commanders then enticed the Goths with promises of rewards (4.26.7) and persuaded them to assemble on a set day in the main cities (εἰς τὰς μητροπόλεις), whereupon the barbarians suppressed their rage, gave up their plans to destroy the cities (ἐχάλασαν μὲν τι τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τῶν πόλεων ἀπωλείας) and assembled in the cities which were allotted to them on the appointed day (4.26.8). There the Roman soldiers killed them all (4.26.9).

The succinct and factual account of Amm. in 31.16.8 and Zosimus' verbose story in 4.26 differ with regard to the important points of the date and the status of the Goths, but they have also common, or at least similar features. We already pointed to the distribution of the Goths in their new habitations (ὁ δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτοὺς ἐγκατένειμεν and *dispersos...per varias civitates et castra*). With Amm.'s *rectores* correspond the words ἅπαντας ὅσοι ταγμάτων ἔτυχον στρατιωτικῶν προεστῶτες. In Amm. the Goths were enticed to assemble by the promise of a *stipendium* (*expectatione promissi stipendii securos ad suburbana productos*), in Zosimus we read λόγους ἐνέσπειραν τοῖς ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει βαρβάροις, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδραῖς σφόδρα δωρεαῖς αὐτοὺς

ἀμείψασθαι βούλοιοτο καὶ διαδοῦναι πᾶσιν οὐ χρήματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γῆν (“they, sc. the military commanders, spread word to the barbarians in each city that the emperor wished to reward them with lavish gifts and to give them money and land as well”, tr. Ridley). Both Amm. and Zosimus praise Iulius’ action (*efficacia*, ἀγχινοῖα). Compare further *uno eodem die* with ῥητῆς αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο δοθείσης ἡμέρας and *universos...occidi* with ἅπαντας πανωλεθρία διαφθείραντες.

It is crystal clear that both Amm. and Zosimus talk about the same action of general Iulius. But is it equally clear that Gregory of Nyssa’s *De sancto Theodoro* and *De iis qui baptismum differunt* should be linked to this incident, as is claimed by Daniélou and Zuckerman and in their wake by others? Far from it. We already noted the difference in location. Zuckerman may be right in dating to 379 the actions of the Goths in Asia Minor as described by Gregory (cf. Barnes 185 n. 83), but in Gregory’s texts there is no hint of young hostages kept in the cities (Zuckerman prefers Zosimus’ version to that of Amm., as we noted above), of Iulius, of the fact that the plans of the hostages failed to be realised, of their death on one and the same day. In *bapt. diff.* (PG 46.424) Gregory speaks of a recent (πρώην) ‘raid of roaming Goths’ (ἡ καταδρομὴ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθῶν), in *Thdr.* p. 61.16–18 Cavarnos he refers to ‘the horrible war of the wild Goths’ (τὸν φρικώδη τῶν ἀγρίων Σκυθῶν πόλεμον), which had been stopped the previous year (τοῦ παρελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ), but not permanently, for “the criminal Goths who are giving birth to a war against us are not far off” (οὐ μακρὰν οἱ ἀλιτῆριοι Σκυῖται τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ὠδίνοντες πόλεμον, p. 70.23, tr. Lenski, 1997, 135). Can this be brought into line with the surreptitious murder of young unsuspecting Goths? We fail to see it. Other suggestions for the interpretation of Gregory’s words have been made. Teja Casuso, 1971, 174–177 thinks of an invasion of Goths from outside into Asia Minor. Colombo, 2017, 264–265 sees a connection with Zos. 4.30.3–5 about a bloody fight with ‘barbarians’ in Philadelphia in Lydia. Be that as it may, in our view the passages of the Cappadocian Father have nothing to do with the massacre perpetrated by Iulius in the eastern provinces, and cannot be adduced as additional evidence to clarify that event.

As sources for the massacre of the Goths we only have Amm. and Zosimus at our disposal. Of course, “Ammianus is not always right and Zosimus is not invariably wrong” (Sivan, 1993, 113). But when, as in this case, there is no cogent reason to follow Zosimus, and we have to choose between these two authors, we prefer Amm. We believe that the Goths who were murdered on the instigation of the *magister militum per Orientem* Iulius in the oriental provinces were auxiliary soldiers, and that the massacre took place in the late summer or the autumn of 378.

*quo consilio prudenti sine strepitu vel mora completo orientales provinciae discriminibus ereptae sunt magnis* Again, as earlier in this section (*efficacia*), Amm. expresses his admiration for Iulius; cf. for *prudens* and *prudentia* ad 20.8.22 (about the emperor Julian) and Brandt, 1999, 108–119. In 14.8 (pp. 53–85) Amm. gives a description of the *orientales provinciae* east and south of the Taurus mountain range. We find praise for Iulius' action also in Zos. 4.26.9: (his soldiers) τὰς ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ πόλεις τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἡλευθέρωσαν φόβων ('freed the cities in the East from the fear which hung over them'). In Zos. 4.27.1 Iulius shares the acclaim with his colleague Modares (see for him above): Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ Θράκην συμπεσόντα ἐλαττώματα τῇ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγχινοίᾳ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν τελευτήν ('Thus ended, thanks to the shrewdness of his [sc. Theodosius'] Magistri, the calamities in the East and Thrace', tr. Ridley).

Amm. praises Iulius' ruthless action as efficient, prudent, salutary and swift, whereas in another instance of 'Realpolitik', viz. the murder of a band of Saxons who had been promised unopposed withdrawal, he had shown at least some qualms: 28.5.7 (p. 239) *ac licet iustus quidam arbiter rerum factum incusabit perfidum et deforme, pensato tamen negotio non feret indigne manum latronum exitialem tandem copia data consumptam*; cf. 30.7.8 (p. 159). Sabbah 211–212 (cf. Sabbah, 2003, 52) has the attractive suggestion that this was Amm.'s way of thanking Iulius for the information he had provided him with in Antioch (we know for sure that Iulius was acquainted with Libanius, *Lib. Or.* 2.9, and it is therefore likely that he also knew Amm.). Cf. further Matthews 227: "we cannot miss the significance of the episode for Ammianus himself. He is describing the liberation from danger of his own native provinces by the initiative of a military commander normally resident in Antioch. It is an unspoken fragment of autobiography, in which Ammianus for the last time enters obliquely into the events he describes".

The final paragraph is without doubt the most debated passage of the *Res Gestae*. For an overview of the relevant publications see Rosen, 1982, 41–47, Calboli, 1983, Guzmán Armario, 2003 and Taliercio, 2015. It is often called the *sphragis* or 'seal', but in the absence of details about name and birthplace of the author the term 'epilogue' seems more appropriate. This extremely concise statement would have been less problematic if the preface to the work had not been lost, in which the author had presumably dealt more extensively with his career and his motivation in writing the *Res Gestae*. As regards the tone of the epilogue, it has often been thought, even in very important studies such as those of Matthews (on p. 461) and Calboli, 1974 (on p. 74) that the author modestly excuses himself for his shortcomings

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as a writer and a historian (“normale scusa di *rusticitas*, pur venata...da un senso di polemica e di ironia”). That, however, is highly unlikely in an epilogue. As Barnes 65 observed, “while any author may preface his work with an apology...a historian’s epilogue ought to reflect pride in the achievement of completing a difficult task”. The epilogue contains definite intertextual relations with Cicero, Tacitus and contemporary historians, as well as intratextual links with earlier programmatic declarations in the *Res Gestae*, both of which contribute to the understanding of the author’s concluding statement.

*Haec ut miles quondam et Graecus a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus ad usque Valentis interitum pro virium explicavi mensura* The phrase *ut miles quondam et Graecus* should not be interpreted as an expression of modesty (real or professed), but as a confident self-representation of the author, who has written his *Res Gestae* ‘as a former soldier and a Greek’. Amm. is neither an armchair historian nor an unlettered old warhorse. In all probability the author refers to his preface, in which both characteristics would have been more fully elaborated upon. As appears from 15.5.22 and 18.8.11, Amm. belonged to the elite corps of the (*domestici*) *protectores*. In 354 the emperor Constantius had ordered him to join the staff of the then *magister equitum* Ursicinus (14.9.1), under whom he served in the East, Gaul, and again in the East. In 363 he took part in Julian’s Persian campaign. His experience as an officer enabled him to speak with authority about military affairs, which are the dominant element in his work, and his assessment of the emperors Constantius, Julian, Valentinian and Valens is determined to a large extent by their military merits. Book 31 is wholly devoted to military affairs, and while Amm. is full of admiration for the common soldiers, he makes no secret of his low opinion of Valens and his generals. Their handling of the critical situation after the crossing of the Danube by the Goths is described as totally inadequate, both with regard to the treatment of the barbarians and to the strategy adopted after the hostilities began. The defeat at Adrianople was the result of a series of blunders committed in the days before the encounter as well as during the battle itself. By presenting himself as *miles*, the author asserts his right to make such severe criticisms.

The adverb *quondam* is used adjectivally, as in 29.2.9 *Constanti principis quondam affines* and 31.13.18 *Ursicini patris, magistri quondam armorum*; Szantyr 171; Pinkster I 1035–1037. Taliercio, 2015, 45 wrongly suggests that *quondam* refers both to *miles* and to *Graecus*. Amm. had resigned from the army, but never disowned his origin. For a correct understanding of

*Graecus* we must turn to the use of this qualification elsewhere in the *Res Gestae*, where we regularly find it, together with similar expressions, in the context of erudite digressions on subjects like earthquakes (17.7.11), eclipses (20.3.4), meteors (25.2.5) or the calendar (26.1.8, 13). In connection with historiography Amm. uses it in 15.9.2: *Timagenes, et diligentia Graecus et lingua*. All these instances testify to his “evident pride in Greek culture, literature and science” (Den Boeft, 1992, 13). The juxtaposition of *miles* and *Graecus* evokes associations with Amm.’s famous predecessor Polybius, like him a former soldier and a Greek, who wrote his history in Rome. Since Amm. makes no explicit reference to Polybius’ work, we cannot be certain whether he intended this association, or whether he wanted to pose as a representative of universal historiography in the Greek manner, as Naudé, 1956, 28 and Sabbah (on pp. 92–111) have argued. The same applies to his association with the emperor Julian, the Greek intellectual who turned out to be a successful army commander. Stoian, 1967, followed by Heyen, 1968 and Barnes (on p. 80) argued that *Graecus* had to be understood as the equivalent of Ἑλλην in the sense of ‘pagan’. However, the word *Graecus* is not used in the *Res Gestae* with this connotation.

By choosing the reign of Nerva as his starting point the author presents himself as the continuator of Tacitus, who had announced his intention to treat *principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani* in his old age (*Hist.* 1.1.4). The actual wording is taken from Tac. *Ag.* 3.1 (*quamquam*) *Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem*, the only other literary text in which Nerva is given the title *Caesar*. Note that there is no suggestion of any break or transition in the work between the Flavian and the Valentinian dynasty. Strictly speaking Ammianus did not end his history with Valens’ death on the battle field. In the last two chapters of Book 31 he deals with events after the battle at Adrianople, apparently with the intention not to leave the reader with the devastating impression of that defeat, but to offer a glimmer of hope for Rome’s future.

For *exordiri* cf. 28.4.1 *exorsus ab Olybrii praefectura*, and for *explicare* cf. 26.1.2 *cognitiones actuum variorum stilis uberibus explicatas* (pp. 14–15) and 31.5.10 *cum explicandae rerum memoriae ubique debeatur integritas fida* (p. 96). The verb *explicare* is used regularly in concluding and transitional passages; TLL V 2.1737.69–1738.7 quotes inter alia Cic. *de Orat.* 3.119 *Explicatis igitur his generibus ac modis disceptationum omnium...Nunc ad reliqua progrediar* and Virg. *gramm. epist. praef.* 107.29 (authors loose the attention of their readers) *nonnisi librorum frequentibus explicitorum finibus sequentiumque initiis laborem suum temperaverint*. For *pro virium explicavimus mensura* cf. the programmatic statement in 15.1.1 *Utrumque potui veritatem*

*scrutari...narravimus*. The phrase *pro virium mensura* seems to be a variation on *pro virium captu* (ibid.) or *pro virium copia* (30.1.16) and shows more confidence than either Ruric. *epist.* 1.9 *mihi que supra mensuram virium conitenti auxiliores accedite* or August. *serm.* 292.10 *quantum mihi videtur, quantum mearum virium mediocritati occurrit*.

*opus veritatem professum numquam, ut arbitror, sciens silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio* As regards content, this statement “appears to gloss” (Blockley, 1998, 305) Cicero’s *prima lex historiae* in *de Orat.* 2.62 *nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat?* Blockley also rightly points out that *ut arbitror* is again an imitation of Cicero, who uses the phrase 31 times, not in order to be non-committal, but confidently, as in *Tusc.* 3.6 *Quamquam de universa philosophia, quanto opere et expetenda esset et colenda, satis, ut arbitror, dictum est in Hortensio*. In Amm.’s version *silentium* corresponds with the second *ne*-clause, *mendacium* with the first. Cf. 29.1.15 *fallere non minus videtur, qui gesta praeterit sciens, quam ille, qui numquam facta fingit*, with which Mary, 2001, 36 n. 19 aptly compares Plb. 12.15.11 ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ ψεῦδος οὐχ ἥττον ἐστὶ περὶ τοὺς τὰ γεγονότα κρύπτοντας ἢ περὶ τοὺς τὰ μηδέποτε γεγονότα γράφοντας (“it is just as mendacious for a writer to conceal what did occur as to report what did not occur”, tr. Walbank-Habicht; Polybius’ text is damaged, but the purport is not in dispute).

The author had earlier used the phrase *opus veritatem professum* in his digression on Thrace, where he deplored the contradictions in the works of earlier authors *quorum obscura varietas...opus veritatem professum non iuvat* (27.4.2). In all probability Amm. had made a similar statement in his preface; according to TLL X 2.1718.38–52, the verb *profiteri* was used frequently in introductions. Amm. is evidently thinking of Tac. *Hist.* 1.1.3 *sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est*, which is echoed also in 31.5.10 *cum explicandae rerum memoriae ubique debeatur integritas fida*. For a thorough discussion of the notions of *veritas* and *fides* in Amm. see Sabbah 19–24 and Blockley, 2001. The historian shares the commitment to *veritas* with the philosopher: 22.4.1 *philosophus veritatis indagandae professor*, 30.5.9 *ut philosophus veritatis professor quaerente curatius principe*.

Amm.’s assertion, that he had never knowingly withheld relevant information, is in contradiction with 29.3.1, where he appeals to his readers to show understanding for the fact that he keeps silent about some negative aspects of Valentinian’s character, possibly to prevent the impression that he is unreasonably critical of Valentinian: *quisquis igitur dicta* (sc. mea) *con-*

*siderat, perpendat etiam cetera, quae tacentur, veniam daturus ut prudens, si non cuncta complectimur*; see Den Hengst, 2018.

As for the avoidance of *mendacium*, Amm. may intend to distance himself discreetly from panegyric, which was notoriously flawed in this respect, as is evident from August. *Conf.* 6.6 *cum pararem recitare imperatori laudes, quibus plura mentirer, et mentienti faveretur ab scientibus* (“when I was preparing to recite my panegyric on the emperor, in which I would tell a number of lies and win acclaim from people who knew they were lies even as I uttered them”, tr. Hammond, adapted).

*scribant reliqua potiores aetate doctrinis florentes* The programmatic statements 15.1 and 26.1 were followed by an announcement of what Amm. intended to do next: *residua, quae secuturus aperiet textus* and *ad residua narranda pergamus*. Here the author invites other historians to continue his work. The oldest example of such an invitation is Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.27 Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει (“Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another”, tr. Brownson). Amm.’s continuators will have to be better qualified than he himself is. The adj. *potior* is one of Amm.’s favourites. He uses it 44 times, of persons (cf. 21.6.9 *potioribus aliis* ‘others more suitable’), cities and rivers (cf. 23.6.25 *potiores ante alios amnes*) and abstracta (15.7.10 *auctoritate...potiore aeternae urbis episcopi*; 16.8.5 *spe potiorum*). The continuators will have to meet two criteria: they must be in the prime of life and possess a wide knowledge. *Aetate doctrinis florentes* looks like an adaptation of the frequent expression *aetate et forma florens*, for which TLL VI 1.922.8–22 quotes inter alia Liv. 26.49.13 *aetate et forma florentes*; 30.12.17 *forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas*; V. Max. 4.3.3 *forma et aetate florens*; Tac. *Hist.* 2.81.2 *florens aetate formaque*. Comparable expressions are Cic. *Sen.* 20 *temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis*; Verg. *Ecl.* 7.4 *ambo florentes aetatibus*; Apul. *Met.* 11.15 *ipsa, qua flores...doctrina*. In any case, it is unnatural to separate *aetate* from *florentes*, and in view of the parallels from the TLL it seems advisable to add *et* before *doctrinis*, which could easily have gone unnoticed after *aetate*.

*quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos* The choice of the verb *aggredi* betrays again the influence of the preface to Tacitus’ *Historiae*: *opus adgredior opimum casibus* (1.2.1). *Si libuerit* is a potentialis, comparable to an expression such as 31.5.10 *id lecturos, si qui erunt umquam, obtestamur*. It may be paraphrased ‘if there will be people who feel inclined to do this’. For *procudere* ‘to sharpen’ cf. 15.2.8 (Julian) *procu-*

*dendi ingenii causa...ad Graeciam ire permissus est* (a similar expression in 16.5.6); 30.4.13 (lawyers) *ad expugnandam veritatem ora mercennaria procudentes*. Amm. borrowed the metaphor from Cic. *de Orat.* 3.121 *non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est, sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate*, which is in perfect harmony with Amm.'s ideal of extensive learning.

For the interpretation of *stilos* it suffices to refer to 26.1.2 *cognitiones actuum variorum stilis uberibus explicatas*, where the stylistic t.t. *uber* 'rich' proves that *stilus* is used in the sense of 'style', and where the plural, as in the present passage, corresponds to the plural *quidam veterum* and *quos* respectively.

For a correct understanding of the assignment given by Amm. to a younger generation of historians we must compare the concluding sentences of four roughly contemporary historical works (the translations are by Kelly, 2007, for the most detailed discussion see Paschoud, 2004 and 2005): Eutr. 10.18.3 *nam reliqua* (the Valentinian dynasty) *stilo maiore dicenda sunt. quae nunc non tam praetermittimus quam ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam reservamus* ("for the rest must be told in a grander style. This we do not now so much pass over as save for composition with greater care"); HA Q 15.10 *supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, nam Diocletianus et qui secuntur stilo maiore dicendi sunt* ("Carus, Carinus and Numerian are left to me. For Diocletian and those who come next must be told in grander style"); Ruf. Fest. 30 *Quam magno deinceps ore tua, princeps invictae* (Valens), *facta sunt personanda! Quibus me licet inparem dicendi nisu et aevo graviores parabo* ("Thenceforth with how great a voice should your deeds, unconquered prince, resound! I shall prepare myself for them though unequal to the task of speaking and weighed down by age"); Hier. *Chron. pr.* 7 *quo fine contentus* (death of Valens) *reliquum temporis Gratiani et Theodosii latioris historiae stilo reservavi, non quo de viventibus timuerim libere et vere scribere—timor enim di hominum timorem expellit—, sed quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia* ("Content with this ending I have saved the rest of Gratian and Theodosius' time for the style of broader history, not because I should fear to write freely and truthfully about the living (for fear of God drives out the fear of men), but because with the barbarians still running amok on our territory all is uncertain").

What these statements have in common with Amm.'s epilogue is that the authors mark the (temporary or definitive) end of their work. Some of them leave the sequel to others (Amm., the HA), others promise (sincerely or not) that they will continue at a later time. To the latter group (Eutr., Ruf. Fest., Hier.) we may add Tacitus, who tells his readers in *Hist.* 1.1.4 that after finish-

ing his *Historiae* he intends to write about Nerva and Trajan: *principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiolem securiolemque materiam, senectuti seposui*. All these authors brought their work to an end because continuing would mean that they had to write about emperors who were still in power. And writing about a living emperor implies a switch from history to panegyric, which requires a higher stylistic level, for which the authors use the terms *stilus maior / maiores stili* (Eutr., HA, Amm.), *magno ore* (Ruf. Fest.) or *latis historiae stili* (Hier.). As Gudeman observes in his commentary on Tac. *Ag.* 18.4, these terms characterize the *genus grande*. They are appropriate for panegyric speeches in honour of the reigning emperor. Paschoud, 2004, 243–244 compares the statements quoted above to the *recusationes* found in Augustan poets, who decline to sing the praises of the emperor on the grounds that they are (or rather pretend to be) unable to reach the required poetical level. In a similar fashion Amm. and his fellow historians end their work, or promise to continue it at a later date, in order to avoid writing about a reigning emperor.

Kelly, 2007 generally agrees with the interpretation of *ad maiores stilos* as a reference to panegyric, but sees a difference between Amm. and his fellow historians in that Amm. “lacks the modesty of the other authors, or any suggestion that he had himself written in a humbler style” (p. 230). For that reason he suggests, that Amm.’s allusion to panegyric may have been ironical, and that he does not want to eliminate the alternative interpretation of *ad maiores stilos* ‘in the loftier style’ (in which I have written my *Res Gestae*).

Taliercio, 2015, 82 sqq. points to Jerome’s words *quoniam dibacchantibus adhuc in terra nostra barbaris incerta sunt omnia*. According to her Amm. ended his work with the defeat at Adrianople for a similar reason, viz. that he was desperate about Rome’s future, and that he saw the actions of the Saracen (§ 5–6 of this chapter) and of Iulius (§ 8) as signs of Rome’s fatal degeneracy. This, however, is flatly contradicted by Amm.’s own judgment, when he mentions the sobering impact on the Goths of the mad warrior and praises Iulius for his *efficacia...salutaris et velox*.



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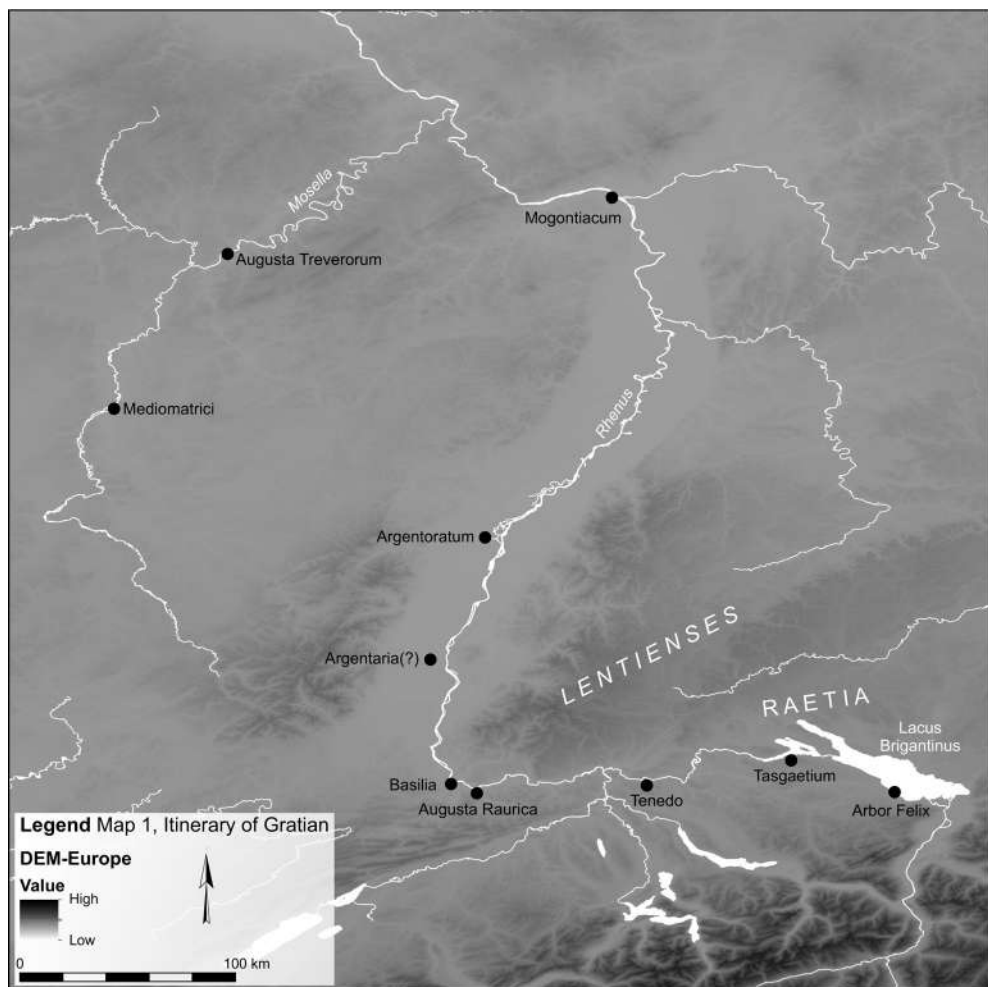
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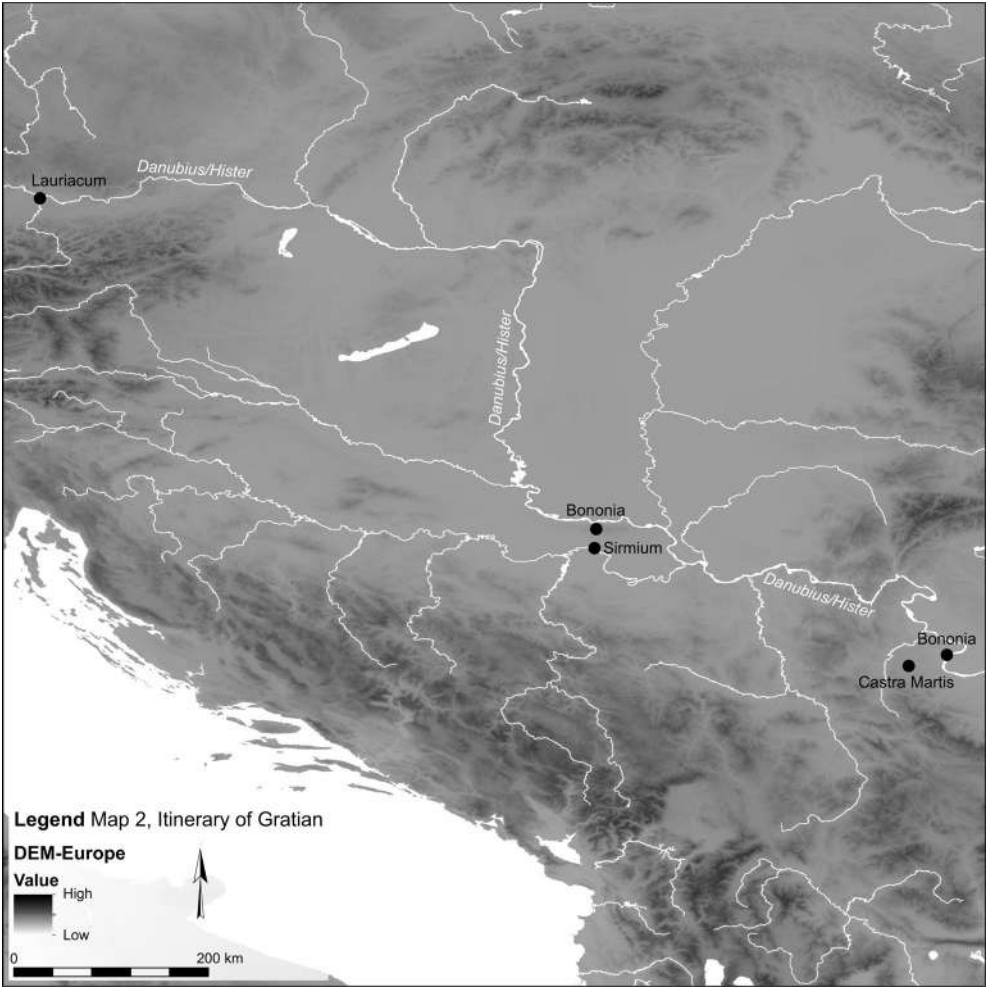
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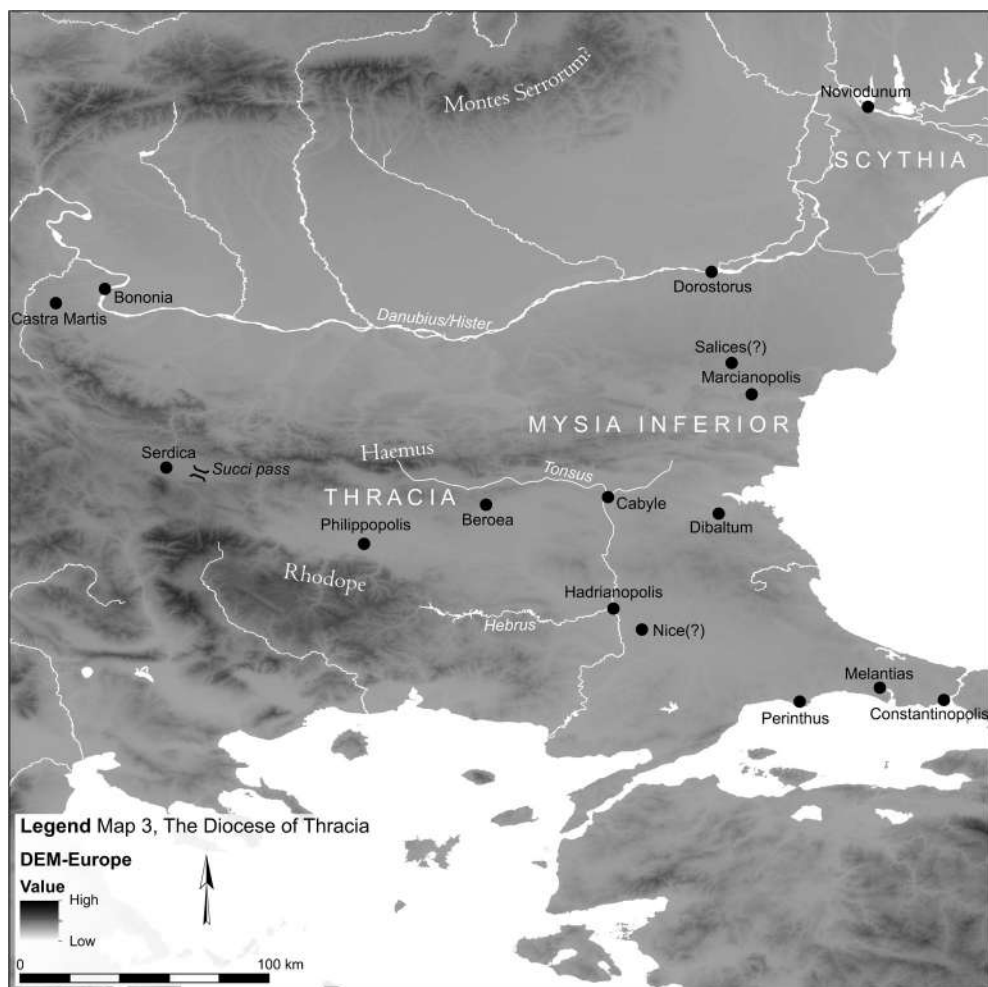


Map 1. Itinerary of Gratian



Map 2. Itinerary of Gratian





Map 3. Diocese of Thracia